

The Nation.

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The Week.

Those who think a war with Spain would make Republican candidates for Congress run like wildfire next fall, should not forget that in Spain also the question of war has its political aspects. Spain will undoubtedly go all reasonable lengths to avoid war, but many things might be worse for her politically than war. If she were to sell the island of Cuba, or to acknowledge its independence, close observers of Spanish politics think there would be instant revolution. The monarchy would be gravely imperilled, and would probably fall. From two sides would the revolt against it come—from the Carlists, in the north, and from the socialistic or anarchistic Republicans in the cities. A very likely result would be a military dictatorship, under Gen. Weyler or some officer like him. This is an ending that the Spanish authorities would be justified in bending every effort to avert, and a war with the United States would avert it. Such a war might bring disaster upon disaster, it might result in the loss of Cuba, but it would consolidate the nation even in its calamities; it would make possible the continuance of the present form of government as one that had manfully stood for the national honor. War, or a feint at war, as an electioneering device is not, in fact, confined to American politics. We have nothing to teach the Spaniards in that political art.

Congressman Tayler of Ohio, who fills the seat formerly occupied by President McKinley, made a speech at the dinner of the Sons of the American Revolution at Delmonico's on Saturday evening, taking for his text the admirable behavior of President Washington when a streak of popular frenzy ran through the country in favor of plunging into a war of sympathy with the French Revolution. He pictured the arrival of Citizen Genet, the Ambassador of France, at Charleston, his triumphal march northward, his reception at Philadelphia, where nearly the whole population attended his steps, and where he proceeded to issue letters of marque and to direct how French prizes should be treated in American waters, and, because Washington did not move fast enough to suit him, finally took an appeal from the President to the people of the United States, and then, to his infinite surprise, found his functions summarily terminated. Any weaker man than Washington would have quailed before this storm, and even Washington shook. When Mr. Tayler made his application

of this historic example to the present occupant of the White House, as a man who feels his responsibilities to the American people, to the world, and to posterity, and who considers not merely the passions of the moment, but the reflection which must come later, the whole room burst into applause. This was only one instance during the evening when the temper of the thoughtful public, represented by this patriotic society, was proved to be heartily in sympathy with the President and opposed to war, except in obedience to clearly defined duty and after peaceful methods have been exhausted.

The paper read by Senator Proctor of Vermont on Thursday, giving to his fellow-Senators and the country the result of his observations in Cuba, was a calm presentation of facts highly interesting in themselves, although mostly known before. It was put forth on his own responsibility solely. His own character is a sufficient guarantee of its truthfulness as to all matters of which he speaks from knowledge, and as to probabilities where he merely draws inferences from what he has personally witnessed. As regards the military situation, Mr. Proctor tells us that the Spanish army holds only the ground that it has enclosed with some species of fortification or trocha; that each railroad station is within such a trocha; that each railroad train has an armored freight-car loopholed for musketry; that small villages and block-houses to hold the inhabitants of the country districts are seen at intervals along the railroad tracks, each enclosed in a trocha; that there is no human life or habitation visible from the railroads except these. The cities along the coast are in the hands of the Spaniards, but much the greater part of the eastern provinces and the greater part of the country taken as a whole, are either in possession of the rebels or so exposed to their ravages that the ordinary industrial pursuits, which depend upon peace and protection, are impossible. Even in the western provinces, the Spaniards, he says, "hold just what their army sits on." The "reconcentrados" are the country people who have been driven in by the troops lest they should furnish aid to the rebels voluntarily or involuntarily. This was a war measure, cruel undoubtedly, as war measures generally are, and we are now contributing the necessities of life to its victims.

More important, perhaps, although less touching, are Mr. Proctor's statements concerning the political prospects of the island. Autonomy he considers now impossible, because it comes too late. Gen.

Blanco is acting in good faith, he says, but the army and the Spanish citizens do not want autonomy. The men of influence and capital, the business community, are agreed that although autonomy might have been acceptable and successful in the beginning, the time for it is now passed. To sum up, the island is ruined and there is nothing to look forward to but the complete exhaustion of one side or the other. Does this pitiful condition concern us in any other way than by appealing to us as a Christian people to relieve human distress by furnishing food to the hungry and clothing to the naked? In other words, does it warrant us in declaring war against Spain? Perhaps this question may be answered best by asking whether we should think of interfering in case Cuba were a colony of France?

The letter from Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to a yellow journal which had invented an interview with him, a frequent yellow practice, is a model under similar circumstances, not only to all public men and public officials, but to all respectable citizens. Nothing has done more to promote yellow journalism than the connivance at its frauds involved in the silence of the victims about bogus interviews with them. Conversations with prominent persons have now become one of the principal journalistic modes of influencing public opinion. As long as these conversations are reported in a conscientious and decent way, and have been held with persons whose opinion about the matter in hand is really of importance, they may be very useful. The usual tendency of journalism to excess has, it is true, led to the practice of having interviews with men prominent for any reason, on all sorts of subjects, whether they know anything about them or not. But as long as these interviews are faithfully reported, the worst one can say of the practice is that it is silly. But the yellow journals have long ceased to report anything conscientiously, and this devilish industry is directly promoted by the habit of nearly all public men of letting fraudulent interviews with them, or invented stories about them, pass without notice.

There could not be a better illustration of the depths of iniquity and degradation to which this connivance—for connivance it is—leads than the impudent request of the yellow rascal in Washington, to a gentleman like Mr. Roosevelt, to refrain from exposing a lie, about himself, in order not to injure "sales"; followed by an announcement that he may have to "change his opinion" about

him. This is, in the mouth of a yellow journalist, a slightly veiled threat. It means that if you do not do what he wants, he will lie about you, distort what you say, depreciate you, or "keep your name out of his paper." This is the way yellow journalists punish a refusal to help their business, and it is generally so effective that some of our honest men are afraid to refuse to serve on their advertising committees, or accept board in their advertising yachts, and, much more, to refute their lies about themselves. Talk of the "white terror" or "red terror"; neither of them can approach the "yellow terror" among us. A letter like Mr. Roosevelt's is, therefore, of great value in setting an example of courage and patriotism. A gentleman telling a yellow scoundrel to do his worst, but that he will get no help from him in his crimes, is something which some of us would dread more than heading an assault on Morro Castle.

The abandonment of the Hawaiian treaty, after the pompous announcement, last fall, that its confirmation would be the first duty of the Senate when Congress met, is an excellent illustration both of the value of discussion and of the uncertainty of human affairs. The discussion was valuable and effective because it forced the friends of annexation to talk in terms of politics and political economy, and to abandon the missionary chatter about the wickedness of the natives and the unchastity of the Queen. They were constrained to tell us, willy-nilly, what would be the advantages of annexation to the people of the United States, and this, of course, gave its enemies their first clear opportunity of pointing out its disadvantages. The first disaster which overtook the missionary Government was the failure of the "key" theory, which was ruined in a day by Capt. Mahan's acknowledgment that to make a "key" of any use, you must have a large navy to take care of it. But the final blow came from the massacre of the colored postmaster and his family at Lake City, S. C., and close upon it the Cuban trouble. These two events have brought home to the popular mind the enormous difficulties into which we should be plunged by an attempt to rule dependencies inhabited by ignorant and inferior races, with whom it would apparently be impossible to get Americans to make any other union than would be necessary for purposes of carpet-baggery and corruption. When we got close to the problem, the prospect of two or three more "Southern States," to be policed, regulated, and kept civilized by lynch law, naturally appalled people. It appalls them still, and, in our opinion, their horror will dispose of the "joint resolution" as readily as it has disposed of the treaty.

The interesting information comes

from London that the British Government is surprised by the formal assertion of our Senate committee on foreign affairs that "Great Britain is plotting for the absorption of Hawaii," and a "high official of the British Foreign Office" is quoted as saying: "It is unfortunate that the committee has such an erroneous impression." We should say rather that it is unfortunate that the committee should have for chairman such a man as Senator Davis. Neither he nor any member of the committee believes for a second that Great Britain is plotting to gain possession of Hawaii. They have no "erroneous impression" on this point. What they have done has been to put into a formal report a silly old humbug about British designs and British grabbing propensities which has been doing duty in this country for a quarter of a century. When an annexation scheme has been devised and argument in support of it has been scarce, the assertion that if we did not take Hawaii England would, has been put forward to fill the gap. None of the statesmen who have used it has believed it himself, any more than Senator Davis and his associates believe it now. Perhaps now that it has attracted attention and found contradiction from the British Government, it will be abandoned, but we are not sanguine of this.

The foreign service of our Government is again held up to contempt before the world, through the performances of another man who was given an office solely for political services. The United States Consul at Amoy, China, has just published in a San Francisco newspaper a letter in which he practically accuses Germany of grabbing a large territory in China, upon what he deems a trivial pretext; ridicules Germany's Emperor and his brother, Prince Henry; and, in relating the circumstances of England's objection to Russia's occupation of Port Arthur, says: "It has been so long since England fought a nation whose men wore pantaloons, that the sight of an anticipated enemy that is not dressed in breech-cloth, tunic, or turban would cause palpitation of the heart." This able representative of American statesmanship comes from Grand Junction, Col., and the sole reason for sending him to speak for our Government in China was the fact that "he was the Secretary of the Republican State central committee of Colorado during the McKinley campaign."

The result of the Republican primaries in Lancaster County, Pa., last Saturday had been awaited with great curiosity throughout the State, by both the supporters and the opponents of Quay. The opposition entered the contest with unusual advantages, its spokesman, State Senator Kauffman, who sought a re-

nomination on his independent record in the last Legislature, being a worthy leader, while the great demonstration at the recent anti-Quay meeting in Lancaster, which was addressed by Mr. Wanamaker, had been full of encouragement. Despite all these advantages, however, the opponents of Quay were overwhelmingly beaten, a Quay man for the Senate distancing Mr. Kauffman by about 1,300 votes, and all the other Quay candidates for the various offices being successful by larger or smaller majorities. Nor can the anti-Quay people find any consolation in the explanation that this was a "snap judgment," which represents the opinion of only a small element in the party. The primaries everywhere were fully attended, and the vote closely approached the party strength, aggregating over 20,000, while in 1896 McKinley had only 24,337, including his Sound-Money Democratic supporters. Various explanations of the result are given. The anti-Quay people complain that the primaries were called before the usual time, and they allege that the machine had a big corruption fund, which was sent out into the towns and villages on Saturday morning, \$4,000 going into Columbia alone, a place of about 10,000 people. They also point out that the Quay people had a perfect organization, and that most of the "practical politicians" in the county worked on that side. But none of these excuses will serve. The Quay people make the better claim when they declare that "the result shows that the majority of the Republicans of the county are well satisfied with Quay's rule."

Gov. Black's new civil-service law for New York State has been in operation for something more than six months, and the Civil Service Reform Association has satisfied a distinct public want in supplying a circumstantial account of the results achieved. The Association's report, made through its Secretary, Mr. McAneny, is based upon a careful examination of official records, and its accuracy cannot be questioned. It shows that the law is working precisely as its friends hoped, and as its opponents predicted that it would. The chief feature of the law was that which provided separate examinations for "merit" and "fitness," the former to be conducted by the civil-service boards and the latter by the appointing officers. The rating in each examination was not to exceed 50 per cent. The merit examinations were to be competitive and written, the latter written or oral, according to the wish of the appointing officer. When the new law went into operation in September last, there were in existence 75 eligible lists, containing 1,888 names. These were of persons who had passed the examinations and had been found fit for positions in the service. These lists were cancelled, and new ones called "merit"

lists, containing 1,426 names, were formed in their stead. Under the old law, when the head of a department wished to make an appointment, he had to apply to the Civil Service Commission for names from which to make it, and was obliged to select from the three highest on the eligible list. Under the Black law he sends notice to all those who have passed "merit" examinations that he is going to hold "fitness" examinations in person in order to decide upon which person or persons he will select. The result is that candidates are put to the expense of journeying to Albany for every new vacancy, with the prospect of not getting an appointment in the end. The appointing officer can rate any candidate's "fitness" as high as 50 per cent., and in this way can give a candidate with a low "merit" mark an average mark which will move him from the bottom to the top of the list. This power has been used so uniformly in favor of the lowest ranking candidates on the "merit" list that the attendance upon the "fitness" examinations grows smaller with every recurrence.

As might have been expected, Mr. Aldridge of the Public Works Department has especially distinguished himself as a rater of "fitness." He has, in full accordance with the provisions of the Black law, selected for Superintendent of the Middle Division of the canals a man who has served a term in the penitentiary, who has been fined also for petit larceny, and has, further, conducted a faro bank. As Superintendent this man has selected as subordinates two men who had served terms in the penitentiary, another who had been a letter-carrier and had been discharged from the Government service for drunkenness, and three others who are liquor-dealers. Next to Mr. Aldridge, the "best work" under the law seems to have been done by Lou Payn in the Insurance Department. Under that section of the act which permits the Executive to decide when competition is "practicable" and when not, the Governor excepted for Mr. Payn the position of "confidential examiner." The result is that while in 1896 there were two confidential examiners, there are to-day fifteen, thirteen of whom have been appointed since the first of last July. Another illustration of the use to which "excepted" positions are put is found in the creation of useless places like attorneys to State hospitals. These pay from \$1,200 to \$4,000 a year each.

The *Manufacturer* of Philadelphia takes up the subject of our trade with Canada in a very reasonable spirit, and gives some good reasons for believing that the time has come for a new treaty of reciprocity with that country. The immediate occasion for the expression of

these views in a circle of high protective influence is the adoption of the preferential system of tariff duties by our neighbors under which Great Britain, or any other country which grants favors to Canadian exports, shall be entitled to a reduction of duties equal to 25 per cent., as against countries which do not grant such favors. This system has not yet gone into full effect. The Canadian law provides that the preferential tariff shall be 12½ per cent. the first year and 25 per cent. the second year and thereafter. Any country which chooses to avail itself of the preference under the conditions named, is at liberty to do so at any time. The question what we are to do about it is becoming important, and the *Manufacturer* has no hesitation in saying that we ought to open negotiations for reciprocal trade. "They [the Canadians] need what we have to sell," it continues, "and yet, strong as our industries are, we wrap ourselves up in a high tariff against Canadian goods and reject every overture which is made for reciprocal trade. What we are asked to protect is the poor American agriculturist!" And then it proceeds to show that "the Agrarian" has the best of it now in the Canadian market, seeing that he sells more than 12 per cent. of all the things that Canada takes from us, or 20 per cent. if we include raw cotton and tobacco. "Why should he," the *Manufacturer* asks, "have any fear of the Canadian producer?" Views of this kind coming from the very hot-bed of protection rather take our breath away.

The later accounts from London magnify greatly the effect of the victory of the Progressives at the London Council election. It is considered a tremendous slap in the face, particularly for Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain. The latter in particular raised Liberal wrath to boiling point by taking the stump in favor of the treatment of the election as a political struggle, and urging people to vote for the Moderates, as a mark of approval of Conservative policy in imperial matters. The district in which he did this most vigorously rolled up a tremendous Progressive majority. The Tories hate him so thoroughly that the party rather chuckles over such reverses. It seems to be generally acknowledged that the election has put an end to the Salisbury scheme of little municipalities. There could not be a better way of making the existing Council a small parliament, and the rival of that sitting at Westminster, than treating it as the representative of radicalism in imperial politics. Besides this, the vote is really an answer to the calumnies which have been put forth during the canvass about its administration of municipal affairs. This is generally acknowledged to have been very good, except by the high-and-dry partisans of the West-End policy.

One of Caran-d'Ache's recent political cartoons represented the French Admiral arriving breathless in China, only to be confronted by a rueful John Chinaman displaying empty pockets and exclaiming, "You are too late. There is nothing left." In the distance were Russian, German, and English figures marching off with their garnered spoils. The new English concessions in China have not, perhaps, been sufficiently appreciated, owing to the fear that Russia was getting, or was about to get, still better terms. But the advantages gained for British trade and influence are by no means trifling. In the first place, beginning with next summer, all Chinese rivers are to be freely opened to British steamers. This means that English merchandise in English bottoms may be taken not merely to the treaty ports, but to every riverside town and station in the whole interior of China. The value of this grant is at once obvious. Then there were provisions guaranteeing that no part of the Yang-tse valley, where English influence has been predominant, should ever be alienated to any other Power; that the Inspector-General of Customs should always be an Englishman so long as British trade in China is larger than that of any other nation (it is now 82 per cent. of the total); and that a port in Hu-nan should be given Great Britain in two years' time. These very considerable concessions show that England will not be outstripped in the commercial development of China.

The question of getting security for costs for plaintiffs in libel suits has come into active discussion in England again, owing to the introduction of a bill dealing with the subject in the House of Commons by Sir John Wilcox. It is hardly likely, however, to pass in the present session. The difficulties of the matter were brought out recently by an interview between the Lord Chancellor and deputations from the Institute of Journalists and the Newspaper Society. The Lord Chancellor had really nothing to say against the Wilcox bill, except that it might deprive penniless or bankrupt persons of redress if libelled, which is, of course, a strong point. The *London Times* proposes to meet this by leaving discretion to the judge to whom application is made for the order for security. Let him decide whether the suit is frivolous or serious. The Lord Chief Justice did this substantially the other day, but too late, by laughing two cases out of court. But the defendant had already been heavily fined by having to pay the plaintiff's costs and his own. The question is becoming more and more serious for the newspaper world, by the business which has sprung up among speculating lawyers of watching newspapers in order to fasten on small bits of libellous news and get somebody to bring a libel suit on them.

"READY" FOR WAR.

In a more or less official way, the country was assured last week that it is "ready" for war, if war must come. Admiral Sicard at Key West, Gen. Miles, and the Navy Department and the Executive at Washington, all were quoted as declaring themselves satisfied that we are "prepared" for the war which all devoutly hope may be averted. But what is it to be ready for war? What is it that the country must provide and endure, face and suffer, if the smouldering flames of war, so long fuelled and fanned by rash hands, at last break fiercely out?

First, of course, comes the material enginery of war. This is easiest of all to make ready, though it is, too, the easiest place for awful mistakes and cruel deceptions to occur. The French thought they were fully ready for war in 1870. Ollivier's declaration that he would go into the war *à cœur léger* was made because he trusted the assurances of the Minister of War that the army was supremely ready, down to the last gaiter-button. Yet the same Marshal Lebœuf who had described France as *archiprête*, was in a few days sending frantic telegrams to Paris on account of the horrible confusion of the army even before the Germans made their lion-leap upon it. It is not probable that any such terrible awakening lies before us, though we must remember the new element of uncertainty that enters into a naval war—the uncertainty, that is, how modern battle-ships will behave in action. But it may fairly be said that, if it comes to a race for the bottom, the Spanish men-of-war will get there as soon as ours. This whole question of armament, however, is but a trifle in the serious preparation for war. Any rich nation can build or buy ships and guns. The real difficulties of being ready for war lie elsewhere.

If we are ready for war, we must be ready for a new unbridling of political corruption in connection with it. What is it that most dims the story of a just and necessary war like our civil war? It is the record of the harpies who fed themselves fat on the nation's suffering. The fraudulent army contracts, the scamped equipment and the cheating supplies, the swindling traders and the bounty-jumpers and the cotton frauds—these are the things that add a new disgrace, if not a new terror, to war. But it is perfectly certain that the things done in the green tree of the civil war would be nothing to what we should see in the dry tree of a war to free (that is, to annex) Cuba. The opportunities for a corruption which has in the meantime become systematized and scientific would be enormous. What a general unloading on the Government there would be—what contracts with a generous margin for all, what smuggling of tobacco, what stealing of sugar, what looting of

land, what buying up of rich concessions in Cuba for a song! Every political corruptionist in the country would see wealth beyond the dreams of even his avarice, and would fly to Washington (never to the front) to get his share of the plunder. Even if the war were to be righteous in intent and glorious in result, the page of history narrating it would have all these foul stains on it, we may be absolutely certain.

More than this, while thus arming ourselves against a supposed foreign enemy, we should be throwing away the only weapons we have against the deadlier foes of our own household. New forms of corruption would run riot in case of war, and the old forms would laugh us to scorn in recovered insolence and security. Who, while the war lasted, could get a hearing for civil-service reform? Who would lift up the standard of municipal purity, or who would rally to it if anybody did? Does anybody doubt how Platt and Croker would welcome war? No man could be more furious than they would be to strike off the shackles from Cubans, in order to fasten them more securely on Americans. It is not only laws that are silent in the midst of arms. Rational discussion is silent; reform is silent; civic questions are not allowed to speak; the public conscience is dumb. Everything that we have been working for during the past thirty years—a civilized taxation, a civilized standard of value and a currency system not benighted, the rescue of our cities from the spoiler—all this would have to be thrown into the fiery crucible of war and would come out we know not what. Are we "ready" for a war which means all that?

But in addition to this military and political readiness for war, something else is necessary. No nation is ready for war unless it is morally ready. It must have a cause of war which its own conscience pronounces just, which will command the approval of the enlightened judgment of mankind, and on which appeal can confidently be taken to the God of battles. Without this there is no real readiness; with it, all the rest can be risked and faced. In spite of all the corruption and the civic debauch which the civil war entailed, it rises on the whole a grand event in the life of our nation because it was a just war. But suppose we are now to have another war like the Mexican, of which a future general of our army will have to write, as Gen. Grant wrote of the Mexican war, that it was a war of unjust aggression—where, then, can our children hide their shame of their fathers? So the great question of all, the overlooked question, is, Are we morally ready for war with Spain? Have we a cause of war so clear, so loftily imperative that all the hideousness of carnage and the fearful blow to civic progress must be hazarded in order to vindicate humanity

and righteousness? We do not say that such a cause of war may not appear later, but we do say that it has not yet appeared. The moral cause enlisting the moral sense of this people for a war with Spain has not been presented. Until it is presented, let the President and all in authority at Washington be well assured that their "ready" is but the wicked "ready" of the duellist, prepared to risk and take life needlessly.

KING GEORGE; KING MATTHEW.

"It is often a question, to me, whether we live in a republic or a monarchy. One hundred and twenty-two years ago we threw off the yoke of King George, but to-day we find the yoke of King Matthew more unbearable. If the people of the State knew their strength and their power, now is the time to dethrone King Matthew First."

Thus spoke Rudolph Blankenburg, a prominent citizen of Pennsylvania, after a speech by John Wanamaker in Lancaster last week. The indignant outburst was fully justified by what Mr. Wanamaker had said. No such picture of tyranny, under the forms of democracy, in an American State, was ever before drawn; and everybody knew that every word was true, because it was the confession of a man who has always supported King Matthew, who, in his own words, "from my boyhood to this day have never voted any other than the Republican ticket, neither have I scratched it or bolted it"—even when, in 1890, the monarch named that offensive tool, Delamater, for Governor.

Mr. Wanamaker's picture of the tyranny which all these years he has been helping to saddle upon the people of Pennsylvania, deserves the attention of the whole country. We have space to reproduce only a few of the boldest strokes of the artist. "Corruption is at its worst," said Mr. Wanamaker, "and the commercialism of politics is the chief characteristic of Pennsylvania." Turning for a parallel to the period of Rome's decadence, he recalled that in "the fourth century of Rome, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, Hellebicus was Master of the Forces and Cæsarius was Count of the Offices"; and declared that "in the nineteenth century M. S. Quay is Count of the Offices, and W. H. Andrews, Prince of Lexow, is Master of the Forces in Pennsylvania, and we have come through the iron age and the silver age to the worst of all ages, the degraded, evil age of conscienceless, debauched politics." Assuring his hearers that they need not go away from home to be convinced of this, he said:

"In our city [Philadelphia] the air to-day is full of councilmanic recrimination. What is the truth about your own county? Witness the scenes here this week of trains loading and unloading from all parts of the county, and strange men lying around to get money to be carried off for distribution to tempt their neighbors; desperate men—criminals in the eyes of the law—cheating your leaders, and, worse, cheating themselves, as they will find in the final accounting."

Devoting himself for a moment specifically to the county in which he spoke, Mr. Wanamaker pointed out that, by the multiplication of indictments, the District Attorney has multiplied his fees far beyond the joint salaries of both the Judges; that a Clerk of the Courts has managed to swell his income beyond the salary of the Vice-President of the United States; that the administration of justice before the Magistrates has degenerated into organized raids on the county treasury; and that the county tax-rate has just been increased, and for 1898 will be heavier than at any time during the present decade. He proceeded:

"I am told that the most shameless corruption of voters attends every important primary election, and men sell their political birthright for less than a mess of pottage. Voters are corruptly influenced or forcibly coerced to do the bidding of the bosses, and thus forge the fetters of political vassalage on the freemen of the Old Guard. School directors, supervisors, assessors, constables, and magistrates, and the whole machinery of local government, are involved and dominated by this accursed system. As, in the early part of the century, national legislation and the execution of the laws were dominated by the slave power, so, at the close of the same century, State and county, city and township affairs are dominated by the boss power. I am told that political promises have been made this week, in your county, which will cost the taxpayers tens of thousands of dollars, solely for the purpose of perpetuating the power of the bosses, to elect a Quay Legislature and a Quay delegation to the State convention."

Mr. Wanamaker told the people of Lancaster County that they not only have just raised their tax-rate, but will have to raise it again, because of the ever-increasing expenses of their reckless and defiant rings, and he asserted that what is true of one county is true of many other counties. "Who can tell the plain story of the last Legislature?" he asked, and he thus opened the answer to his own question:

"The stream cannot rise higher than its source." The genius that selected and directed the Pennsylvania Legislature of '97, moulded and shaped it, and proudly and publicly proclaimed absolute ownership of it, has gone into written history. Its record of promises broken and party pledges ignored; its abuse of public trust, and insatiable desire for public plunder; of legislation born of injustice, iniquity, and crime, driven through under the 'whip and spur' of the Boss; of Trusts fostered and protected, and legitimate commercial interests assaulted; of placing the brewery paramount to the school-house, and the interests of beer preëminent over the crying demands of charity and popular education, bear distinctly the character and indelible imprint of its master spirit."

Mr. Wanamaker set forth in detail the offences of the lawmakers, from the loss of nearly a month at the opening of the session "by the presiding officers of the Senate and House delaying the appointment of the seventy-eight standing committees, that choice chairmanships and places might be found to reward the voters for the machine's candidate for United States Senator." We cannot follow him at length here, but we must quote his remark that "the Legislature

of '97 was not worse than its predecessors have been under the same control"—predecessors, by the way, that he himself always helped to elect.

The scandal of the State Treasury was set forth in all its enormity. "For fifteen years," said Mr. Wanamaker, "the control of the office of State Treasurer has been the citadel of Senator Quay's power; it is believed to have yielded annually a campaign fund of not less than \$100,000, mortgaging influential bankers, and affording unlimited credit to borrow vast sums for personal campaigns, and exhibiting incumbents entering upon the office of State Treasurer poor, and on a \$5,000 salary in two years retiring with a competency." To give a better conception of the great loss sustained by the State, he quoted the Treasurer's official monthly statement, bearing date of July 1, 1893, during the height of the panic, which showed a balance of \$8,123,747.69 in favored State banks paying no interest to the State, while he was obliged to pay a premium of 3 per cent. for cash with which to pay wages. To show to what extent the fund is manipulated for political purposes, Mr. Wanamaker said that "a Philadelphia bank capitalized at \$150,000, a private institution [the People's Bank], whose president is Quay's old lieutenant, has continuously carried a deposit ranging from \$300,000 to \$1,200,000, while school districts are waiting in vain for school money long past due"; and he noted the interesting fact that the People's Bank is the first place that Senator Quay visits when he goes to Philadelphia.

The victory of beer over education must be cited. The Legislature had been so extravagant, for the benefit of the King's retainers, that toward the end of the session he issued orders to save money by reducing the appropriations for schools, and \$1,000,000 was subtracted from the usual grant. "It was a question," said Mr. Wanamaker, "between schools and saloons, books and breweries—and beer won. The Quay people had agreed to protect the brewers, and they killed the Bliss beer bills." Nor do the schools alone suffer. Mr. Wanamaker stated that there is insufficient accommodation for the insane poor in existing buildings; that on the stone floors and corridors of these buildings several thousand of the poor, chronic sufferers are scattered about in the most wretched way; and that the failure promptly to provide appropriated money and proper places for the insane poor adopted by the State will turn the county poor-houses into mad-houses.

Mr. Wanamaker expressed the opinion that "a large part of the nearly 6,000,000 of Pennsylvanians are tired of the ring rule, and unwilling to submit tamely to the surrender of State affairs to Quay and W. H. Andrews; that the State is too young to go out of business alto-

gether for herself; that we are ready for another Declaration of Independence." This may be so. But King George's sway over the colonists would never have been broken if they had assured the monarch that, much as they disliked him, they would submit after "freeing their minds."

TEN YEARS OF FEDERAL RAILWAY REGULATION.

Prof. H. C. Adams, the Secretary and Statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission, publishes in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April an article on the work of the commission since its creation in 1887. The object of the article is to direct the attention of the public to the necessity for more legislation by Congress, in order to give the commission greater powers; and the practical question presented by it is, Does Mr. Adams make out his case? Are greater powers needed, and if so, what are they? We shall endeavor to explain what light the article throws on this question.

The interstate-commerce act was passed for only one reason, namely, because the decisions of the courts held that the Constitution allows Congress to regulate interstate commerce, while the States have sole jurisdiction over transportation within their borders. In the fifteen years preceding the passage of the interstate-commerce act, numerous State commissions had been created in the various States, with authority of some sort over railroads; in 1887 Congress undertook the supervision of interstate business. But Congress, in its act, imitated at many points the previous State legislation. This, indeed, it could not fail to do, inasmuch as the objects in view were the same—to exercise some control over rates, to prevent injustice in rates, to insure publicity, accessibility, and uniformity in charges and accounts. We have read with great care Prof. Adams's résumé, as we have read many reports of State railway commissions during the past twenty-five years, in order to see what he makes out to have been the actual effect of this legislation, and of the work of the commission under it, and we must frankly say that, except in one particular, we can find no definite claim made and supported by evidence that anything whatever has been accomplished. Indeed, his article is in the main an assertion that nothing has been accomplished because the commission has not had enough power. This is because "the courts have thought it necessary" to deny certain authority claimed by the commission, and because Congress "has not shown itself jealous for the dignity of the administrative body which it created." What new powers are demanded is left to be inferred rather than stated.

Before going any further, it is worth while to say that the powers already

conferred upon the commission are on their face very extensive. The act prohibits all "unjust and unreasonable" rates; makes unlawful every "unjust discrimination" and "undue preference;" forbids the receipt of greater compensation for transportation of passengers and property, under like conditions, for a shorter than for a longer distance, and all "pooling" of earnings between competing railroads. The penalties for violations of the act extend to a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for two years for each offence. Extensive as these powers are, however, it is quite apparent from Mr. Adams's review that they are inadequate to the purposes he has in mind, for his account of what the commission has accomplished is pitiful indeed. Its opinions fill five volumes of reports, and as a specimen of its labors we are given a half-page of opinions which are mentioned as "fairly typical." The first three are as follows:

"It has been decided that a just schedule of rates will not tend to destroy the natural advantages for the production and sale of goods possessed by localities; but in judging of local advantages, care must be taken not to confound those that are artificial with those that are natural. Not only must a just schedule of rates rest on a just base, but the relative rates on competitive articles must be such as not to disturb the natural order of competition. A just schedule of rates will conform to the competitive equities that exist between goods shipped at different stages in the process of their manufacture."

It is obvious that such decisions are mere abstract propositions which might be evolved from one's inner consciousness *ad libitum*, without any act of Congress or commission. They have no force; they cannot lower or alter rates by the value of a cent, and are couched in such vague language as to apply to almost any conceivable state of facts. They are little more than mere words. After examining them, the reader is quite ready to agree with the writer when he says substantially that, beyond securing publicity, uniformity, and accessibility of charges and accounts, the act has accomplished little or nothing. So far as the criminal machinery of the act is concerned—the main hope of its promoters—he expressly declares that it "can never be effectively administered." The evidence produced also shows that there is no doubt as to the quarter in which the obstacles to the enforcement of the act have appeared. It is in the judicial decisions of the federal courts which have been made from time to time. In these it has been decided that the investigations of the commission are not final as to matters of fact, and that the commission cannot prescribe rates.

Mr. Adams seems to be under the impression that these obstacles can be readily overcome if Congress makes up its mind to uphold the dignity of the commission. But here he makes the mistake which so many make of imagining that the United States, its busi-

ness, and the liberty, property, and contracts of its citizens, are at the mercy of Congress. Fortunately, they are not. Very fortunately for us, no way has yet been found of getting rid of the control of the courts over legislation intrusted to them by the Constitution. If it were not for this, Congress could, no doubt, do what it has been the aim of railway commissioners to do for twenty-five years—fix rates or decide upon their justice as fixed, and determine what profit, if any, capital should derive from railway investments. But the courts have thus far proved, and, we believe, will for ever prove, an insurmountable obstacle. So long as they do their duty, they will continue to hold that neither Congress nor any commission under it can exercise, under the forms of a judicial inquiry, any arbitrary or despotic power whatever. The attempt to regulate the interstate business of railways has broken down, just as the State attempts broke down, because it is opposed to the supreme law of this country, which, by the agency of the courts, guarantees to every man—and to every corporation—the right to manage his own business. When the Constitution says that no one shall be deprived of life, liberty, and property without "due process of law," it means, without what *the courts say* is due process of law, ascertained through judicial inquiry. Consequently, the time will never come when a political or administrative body will be allowed to fix rates and decide that they are "just." Until our system of civilization disappears, what is just will be determined by a court of justice according to principles laid down by judges, and not by Legislatures or their delegates. The Nebraska freight-rate decision, made the other day, emphasizes this principle, which lies at the bottom of our system of government. When the Populists have remodelled the Constitution, the sources of their public law will be in just such speculations as underlie Mr. Adams's suggestion for a removal of the obstacles in the way of the commission. A Bryan unhampered by the Supreme Court could solve railway problems as fast as Mr. Adams could state them.

TAXATION OF PERSONAL PROPERTY.

The recent report of the Massachusetts Tax Commission and the more recent speech of ex-President Harrison at Chicago have set on foot a very profitable discussion. The bill now pending at Albany for the appointment of a tax commission in this State took its rise earlier than either of these publications, but the general interest in it has been much enhanced by them. Gov. Pingree of Michigan has called a special session of the Legislature of that State to consider the subject of taxation of railroad,

express, telegraph, and telephone companies. The *Detroit Free Press* considers the Governor's call a part of his political campaign for reelection, and this seems to be tacitly conceded by the *Detroit Tribune*, although the latter holds that the Governor's action is founded upon a substantial public need.

At the bottom of all the agitation on these subjects lies the fact that personal property does not bear its just proportion of the public burdens. Coupled with this is the fact, demonstrated a thousand times in this country and abroad, that the "general-property tax" cannot be enforced justly and equally. By general-property tax is meant the system under which each man is required to pay taxes in proportion to his means, real and personal. That each man should do so is an accepted maxim in law and morals. That no machinery has ever been devised to enforce such a tax, has been proved so often that it is now the opinion of the best and most impartial investigators that it never can be, and that recourse must be had to other means to reach the same result. The Massachusetts Commission, it will be remembered, recommends as a substitute for the general-property tax a tax on the rental value of dwellings as being the best outward indication of the means of the occupier—a system recommended by the Wells-Dodge-Cuyler Commission in this State twenty-five years ago, and one which has been actually in operation in France for fifty years.

There is a general concurrence of opinion among economists that the actual value of personal property is at least equal to the value of real estate in the entire country—and this is certainly so in the Eastern States. Yet it is a fact that the amount of taxes collected from personal property for State and municipal purposes has been declining for twenty or thirty years, while everybody knows that the actual value of such property has been enormously increasing. Thus the amount of personal property on the assessment rolls in the State of New York in the year 1871 was \$452,607,732. In 1886 it had fallen to \$335,898,389. A more striking proof of the laxity of the assessment of personal property is furnished in the last report of the State Comptroller, from which it appears that 107 decedent estates were appraised in the surrogates' courts, at \$215,891,568, while the appraisal of the same estates for taxable purposes had been only \$3,471,413. A large part of this discrepancy must have consisted of corporate securities taxable directly by the State, and therefore justly exempted from the general-property tax; but that there was still a large residue unaccounted for cannot be doubted. This is made apparent by the fact that in the wealthy county of Westchester the proportion of personal property to real on the assessment rolls was only 33-10 per

cent., and in the whole State was only 12 6-10 per cent. The widest variations, are found in the different counties and in the different towns of the same county, where the outward evidences of wealth are the same. "In some localities," says the Comptroller, "personal property escapes taxation entirely."

New York is not peculiar in this respect. In New Jersey the proportion of personal property to realty paying taxes is 17 4-10 per cent., in Illinois it is 17 per cent.; in Indiana 26 per cent., in Massachusetts 22 7-10 per cent., in Pennsylvania 20 8-10 per cent. By this is meant that the whole amount collected from personal property for State and municipal purposes, including the taxes levied on corporations directly, is only the percentage named in the several States. But the injustice does not end here. Some persons and corporations pay more than they ought to under an equitable system, because they are particularly exposed to the scrutiny of the assessors. Banks come under this category, also the estates of decedents in course of settlement, and personal property in the hands of trustees who have no motive to conceal what they hold for the benefit of others. In this category come widows and orphans, who notoriously pay far more than their just proportion under the general-property tax.

A late contribution to the literature of taxation, and one of high merit, is a book entitled 'Taxation for State Purposes in Pennsylvania,' by Frank Marshall Eastman, a member of the staff of the Auditor-General of that State. Mr. Eastman is a firm believer in the Pennsylvania system, which aims to, and does, obtain the entire sum needed for state purposes from other sources than real estate, *i. e.*, from corporations, from gross receipts, from insurance premiums, from banks and building and loan associations, from personal property, from inheritances and successions, from licenses, from fees of public officers, etc. Mr. Eastman maintains that the system, although, perhaps, open to further improvement, is an excellent one, and that it ought not to be abandoned for any untried one devised by theorists—from which we infer that somebody is trying to upset it and put something different in its place. In our own State the chief aim of tax reformers is to get into the happy position of Pennsylvania, and thus be enabled to adopt the "local-option system" under which each county may elect its own method of raising its local revenue. All such reformers will be glad to have Mr. Eastman's book within their reach, for it supplies a vast fund of information on the practical side of the matter in hand. It gives us the history of each tax law in the Pennsylvania system; an account of the method of its enforcement, of the judicial decisions under it,

and of its relative value and acceptableness as a part of the system.

The bill pending at Albany for a tax commission will undoubtedly become a law. It is to be hoped that the Commissioners appointed under it may be men who have made a reputation as economists and practical administrators, who will be able to show us how the existing inequalities in taxation may be avoided, and how personal property may be made to pay its fair share of the public burdens. As for the "general-property tax," it ought to be stricken out of the statute book as non-enforceable.

CHARAVAY'S LAFAYETTE.—II.

PARIS, March 10, 1898.

The forced return of Louis XVI. from Versailles to the Tuileries was in reality the beginning of the Revolution. Lafayette had been named commander of the troops in and around Paris. He entered into relations with Mirabeau, though he had no esteem for his character and his morality. Mirabeau, on his side, had only a mediocre idea of the intellectual capacity of Lafayette; but he was obliged to reckon with the General's popularity, which was immense at that time. Count de la Marck was their common friend, and tried to unite them in the interest of the monarchy. Gouverneur Morris and Talleyrand also played a part in the negotiations which took place between them, with various alternations. Morris warned Lafayette against the dangers of an alliance with Mirabeau; curiously enough, Talleyrand, who was still Bishop of Autun, spoke to Lafayette in the same vein. These negotiations came to an end when the Assembly passed a decree forbidding its members to enter the cabinet. There could be no longer any talk of a Lafayette-Mirabeau cabinet. Their relations came to a close, and, at a dinner given by Morris, Lafayette freely expressed his opinion of Mirabeau, calling him "an active and clever *coquin*." Some time afterwards, he refused to enter into fresh negotiations with him, and said to his friends: "I neither like him nor esteem him; nor do I fear him. I do not see why I should try to have an understanding with him." Lafayette often asked himself afterwards whether he had not done wrong to disdain the repeated offers of Mirabeau; eloquence is a great power in public assemblies, and Mirabeau was the most eloquent man of his time. He belonged, as did Lafayette himself, to the French nobility; they were both very well placed to serve as a sort of connecting link between the old régime and the new order of things, which was the début of a constitutional government.

The history of the relations of Lafayette and Mirabeau is certainly one of the most interesting portions of M. Charavay's work. The author has used the valuable correspondence between Mirabeau and Lamarck. Mirabeau's insistence is striking.

"Oh, M. Lafayette," he says in a letter, "Richelieu was against the nation for the court, and though Richelieu did much harm to the public liberties, he did much good to the monarchy. Be a Richelieu against the court for the nation, and you will rebuild the monarchy and consolidate at the same time the public liberties. But Richelieu had his Capuchin Joseph; have also your 'Eminence grise,' or else you will lose yourself without saving us. Your great qualities have need of my impulsion; my im-

pulsion has need of your great qualities; do not believe the little men who, for petty considerations, by petty manœuvres, try to make us useless to each other. Don't you see that you ought to marry me and believe in me all the more because your stupid partisans try to push me aside? Ah! you are unfaithful to your destiny!"

This written eloquence had not much effect. Lafayette probably took the comparison of himself with Richelieu as a bit of irony. We can, nevertheless, only regret, from an historical point of view, that two forces which together might have prevented much evil, found themselves disunited by a sort of fatality.

Lafayette's popularity was at its height in 1790, at the moment of the great Festival of the Federation. He was the true hero of this festival. The *fédérés* of the provinces kissed his hands, his boots, the harness of his horse, and the horse itself, and M. Charavay reproduces in his book a popular engraving of the time, in which Lafayette is represented near the altar of the Federation, by the side of the King. Mirabeau foresaw that this popularity could not last. "Popular risings are wine to M. de Lafayette." "It is possible that the shame of tolerating an insurrection beside an army of thirty thousand men will oblige M. de Lafayette some day to fire on the people." The day came which brought this terrible necessity. On Sunday, July 17, 1791, Lafayette had to proclaim martial law, and the troops fired on the people in the Champ de Mars. M. Charavay coolly says that "Lafayette's popularity was definitively lost in this useless bloodshed"; but we must remember that M. Charavay belongs to a school which, though it pretends to historical impartiality, has great difficulty in criticising anything in the Revolution and its actors. What was called the "massacre" of the Champ de Mars took place after the flight to Varennes and the return of the King to Paris and to the Tuileries, escorted by Lafayette and the National Guards.

The National Assembly separated on the 30th of September, 1791, and Lafayette, thinking that his work had come to an end, resolved to imitate Washington and retire. He left for Chavaniac, in Auvergne; but rumors of impending war forced him to leave his retreat. He was placed at the head of an army of 50,000 men; Rochambeau and Luckner commanded two other corps. At Metz, on the Belgian frontier, Lafayette was as much occupied with the news of Paris as with the command of his troops; he had sometimes to go to Paris and take part in the political deliberations. He tried to play the rôle of a moderator and arbiter between the parties; but passions were already too strong, and he was denounced on all sides as a traitor and an enemy.

The revolution of the 10th of August, 1792, was the end of all his hopes and aspirations; it was a fatal blow to the cause of constitutional monarchy. Lafayette heard of it at Sedan, and had to announce to his troops that the King had been deposed. He passed them in review and asked them to take the oath to "the nation, the law, and the King." He was assuming the position of a constitutional general, and stood by the monarchy in the abstract, though the King had momentarily been deprived of his authority. The executive council appointed by the Assembly after the 10th of August ordered him to surrender the command of the army of the North to Dumouriez, and sum-

moned him to Paris; he was accused of high treason and his arrest ordered. He was, on the 19th of August, at Bouillon, where he found Alexandre Lameth; he resolved to leave France, and was followed by twenty-one officers of his staff. He was arrested, with his companions, at Rochefort, a little town in the neighborhood of Liège, by the Austrian sentries, and conducted to Namur and afterwards to Nivelles. He wished to retire first to England, and wrote to his wife to join him there, and to settle afterwards in America, where he was "sure to find a liberty which existed no longer in France."

The French refugees were treated as prisoners, in violation of the law of nations; the aides-de-camp of Lafayette were kept in the citadel of Antwerp; Lafayette, Latour-Maubourg, Alexandre Lameth, and Bureaux de Pusy were transferred to Arlon. They were looked upon as great criminals, as they had all four been members of the Constituent Assembly, which had inaugurated the French Revolution and deprived Louis XVI. of his power, and were held as hostages, answerable for the lives of the King and Queen of France. Lafayette was transferred to Wesel, where he remained in the strictest captivity, and afterwards to Magdeburg and to Neisse in Silesia, where he arrived on the 16th of January, 1794. He was afterwards delivered to the Austrians and conducted to Olmütz, where a daring but futile attempt was made to rescue him by Justus Erich Bollmann, assisted by an American, Francis Kinlock Huger. Madame de Lafayette was incessant in her efforts to mitigate his captivity. She corresponded with Gouverneur Morris, with Washington. Washington and Morris behaved with the greatest generosity with regard to her, but could not do anything for Lafayette himself. She succeeded finally in obtaining an audience from the Emperor of Austria and an authorization to be allowed to share with her daughters the captivity of her husband. She joined him in October, 1795.

Lafayette was never forgotten during his hard captivity. It is due to the memory of Washington to say that he was constantly faithful to the Frenchman who had stood by him in the trial hour of the American republic. Madame de Staël, who, with all her imperfections, possessed a noble and generous nature, Fox, Sheridan, and many others may be cited among those who protested against the prolonged captivity of Lafayette. The French Directory charged Gen. Bonaparte to ask of the Austrian Government the release of the prisoners of Olmütz. Bonaparte and Clarke specified in a note given to the German plenipotentiary that the prisoners should not, for the time being, reside in France or in Italy. It was, in consequence, agreed that the captives should be delivered to the American Consul at Hamburg. Lafayette and his companions left Olmütz on the 19th of September, 1797, and arrived in Hamburg on the 4th of October, by way of Dresden and Leipzig. They were received by the American Consul, Parish, and in delivering them the Austrian agent declared that the Empress had set them at liberty out of consideration for the United States.

Lafayette, freed after six years of the hardest captivity, was still an exile from his country. His estates in Brittany had been sold, like the estates of the émigrés. He had incurred debts. He took up his residence with his family (as did Latour-Maubourg and his family) at a château near

Wittmoldt, in Schleswig-Holstein, and wrote his 'Souvenirs en sortant de prison,' which have been published in his Memoirs. They are important documents for the history of the constitutional party. Lafayette blames with energy the condemnation of Louis XVI., the executions of the Terrorist period; he is very severe on the Jacobins—on Danton, whom he accuses of venality, on Robespierre, and all the Mountain.

Lafayette established himself afterwards at Vianen, near Utrecht. M. Charavay gives minute details of the life which he led there. He prophesied the great fortune of Bonaparte: "As for Bonaparte, he is the Constable of the Conventional party; he can become the master of France. He is probably the man whom Sieyès and his friends are waiting for, as the man who took part in the siege of Toulon, in the events of Vendémiaire, who stands well with Barras, Talien, Fréron, and is not embarrassing to scrutinize. His halo of glory gives him immense advantages." This was written while Bonaparte was in Egypt. After his return, Lafayette writes: "The moment is very favorable for Bonaparte. . . . His desire ought to be that the Republic should establish itself on a solid basis of liberty and of justice. Perhaps he desires to be made President for life. I should approve of this arrangement; it would be an interesting experiment to make." Mme. de Lafayette saw Bonaparte in Paris, and was well received. A few days afterwards Lafayette received the news of the *coup d'état* of the Eighteenth Brumaire, and from the hands of a friend a passport under a fictitious name. He started immediately for Paris, where he arrived in November, 1799. He announced his arrival to Sieyès and to Bonaparte, who did not conceal his anger on hearing of this sudden return. Talleyrand and Regnault de St.-Jean d'Angély advised Lafayette to return to Holland; he refused to do so, and went to reside at the château of La Grange (now inhabited by the Marquis de Lasteyrie, one of his descendants). It was at La Grange that he heard with great grief of the death of Gen. Washington. "The pair of finely wrought steel pistols taken from the enemy in the Revolutionary war," which Washington left him in his will, are still preserved at La Grange.

For a while Lafayette gave himself entirely to agricultural pursuits; he became a gentleman farmer of Brie. Bonaparte's anger was not of long duration; he gave a lieutenancy in the Hussars to the son of Lafayette. Talleyrand offered Lafayette the embassy to the United States, which he refused, being determined, for the time, to live in complete retirement.

FRANKLIN AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

LONDON, February, 1898.

In connection with one of his earlier contributions to the Royal Society, Franklin says, in his delightful Autobiography: "One paper which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersley, on the sameness of Lightning with Electricity, I sent to Dr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that society, who wrote me word that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs." Franklin then proceeds to tell how amply the Royal Society had made amends for its early slighting of him by its subsequent handsome recognition. In 1748, John Mitchell, M.D., appears on the published list of Fellows.

The result of the statement so made to Franklin and his own record of it in the Autobiography has been the reproduction by biographers, one after the other, of the reflection upon the Royal Society that it had slighted the philosopher at the outset of his scientific career. If, however, confirmation of Mitchell's statement can be found elsewhere, it is not forthcoming in the records of the Society itself. An examination of the minutes of the Council, of the Journal of the general meetings of the Fellows, and of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Society, fails to give any support to the allegation of Mitchell. What those records do show, let us note.

On the 21st of January, 1748 (N. S.), William Watson, afterwards Sir William, read a paper to the Royal Society upon "Some Further Inquiries into the Nature and Properties of Electricity." In his essay, Watson mentioned that Collinson had received a paper concerning electricity from "an ingenious gentleman, Mr. Franklin, a friend of his in Pennsylvania." Watson (who had announced the theory of Positive and Negative Electricity, subsequently elaborated by Franklin) mentioned that Franklin's paper, which was dated June, 1747, had been lately perused by him, "by favour of our most worthy President." He went on to observe that though Franklin had made his experiments with a tube instead of a globe, the difference in results was in no way material. Watson quoted at length from Franklin's paper, and remarked that, owing to the distance at which Franklin was living, the latter could not possibly have been acquainted with what had been observed in England. Franklin seemed, said Watson, "very conversant in this part of Natural Philosophy."

On the 6th of June, 1751, Watson read "An Account of Mr. Benjamin Franklin's Treatise, lately published, entitled 'Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia, in America.'" Watson observed that while he differed from him on some points, he thought that scarcely any one was better acquainted with the subject of electricity than Franklin.

On the 14th of November, 1751, a letter from Franklin, dated Philadelphia, June 20, 1751, addressed to Peter Collinson, concerning the effects of lightning, was read before the Royal Society. On the 21st of December, 1752, another letter from Franklin (dated at Philadelphia, October 1, 1752), also addressed to Collinson, was read. On the 18th of December, 1755, there were two communications from Franklin. One was upon "Electrical Experiments made in pursuance of those by Mr. Canton, dated December 3, 1753; with explanations by Mr. Benjamin Franklin," communicated by Peter Collinson. This was dated Philadelphia, March 14, 1755. The other was an "Extract of a letter concerning Electricity, from Mr. B. Franklin, to Mons. Delibard, inclosed in a letter to Mr. Peter Collinson." The date of this was June 29, 1755.

In connection with the papers above mentioned there is nothing on record at Burlington House, the home of the Royal Society, to confirm the alleged slighting of Franklin. On the other hand, there are the following notes of appreciation:

The Council met on the 15th of November, 1753, under the Presidency of the Earl of Macclesfield. The Minutes record that—

"The Strong Box was unlocked, and one of

the Gold Medals taken out, in order to the giving it to the person on whom the Council shall bestow the prize for this year, pursuant to the Will of Sir Godfrey Copley, Baronet, and the remaining medals were locked up in the box.

"The Council, in regard they had then no copy of the aforesaid will, adjourned the consideration of the bestowing this Prize to the next meeting."

At its meeting, on the 20th of the same month, the Council "ordered on a Balot that the Prize Medal in consequence of Sir Godfrey Copley's benefaction, be bestowed on Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia, Esq., for his curious Experiments in Electricity, and that his name be engraven on the said medal."

The handsome terms in which the President of the Royal Society, the scientific Earl of Macclesfield, spoke of Franklin's services to science, in his address to the Fellows at the annual meeting on the 30th of November, 1753, are recorded in the Society's Journal. Jared Sparks has reprinted Lord Macclesfield's encomium in Volume V. of the Works of Benjamin Franklin, published at Boston in 1837.

At a meeting of the Council on July 15, 1756, "Mr. Watson moved that the name of Mr. Benjamin Franklin, who has deserved so highly of the Society, and whose affairs oblige him to reside at Philadelphia, be inserted in the Lists before his admission, and without any Fee, or other payment to the Society, and that such name be continued in the Lists, so long as he shall continue to reside abroad. Which upon a Ballot was carried in the affirmative, *nemine contradicente*." Accordingly, Franklin's name appeared in the List of Fellows published in 1757. In the List for 1760, the letters LL.D. follow the name. In the List for 1767, the Council includes, "Benjamin Franklin, LL.D., S. Gotting. Soc."

Among the papers preserved at Burlington House are some letters from Franklin to his friend Canton. These, with the permission of the Council of the Royal Society, are now published for the first time in the *Nation*. The original spelling has been faithfully reproduced. D. D.

MS. LETTERS FROM THE CANTON COLLECTION.

DEAR SIR, Dr. Priestly left these Specimens of the Circles with me to be produc'd to the Society. As I cannot be there this Evening, when I understand the Paper is to be read, I enclose them to you.—Those that look at them should be caution'd not to rub them, lest they should be defac'd before the Company have all had a Sight of them. I am, Yours, &c.,

(Signed)

B. FRANKLIN.

March 9,—68.

PHILADA., March 14, 1764.

DEAR SIR, When I left London I promis'd myself the Pleasure of a regular Correspondence with you and some others of the ingenious Gentlemen that compos'd our Club. But after so long an Absence from my Family and Affairs, I found, as you will easily conceive, so much Occupation, that philosophical Matters could not be attended to; and my last Summer was almost wholly taken up in long Journeys. I am now a little better settled, and take the Liberty of Beginning that Commerce of Letters with you, in which I am sure to be the Gainer.

I have little that is new at present to offer you. I have made no Experiments myself. Mr. Kinnersley has shewn me one, that I think is mention'd in a Letter of his home, which I left in London, and it is a beautiful one to see. By a Stroke from his Case of Bottles pass'd thro' a fine Iron Wire, the Wire appears first red hot, and then falls in Drops, which burn

themselves into the Surface of the Table or Floor. The Drops cool round like very small Shot. I enclose some of them. This proves that the Fusion of Iron by a Stroke of Lightning may be a hot and not a cold Fusion as we formerly suppos'd, and is agreeable to the Acct. publish'd some Years since in the Transactions, of the Effects of Lightning on a Bell Wire in Southwark.

Mr. Kinnersley told me of a much stranger Experiment, to wit, that when he had sometimes electrify'd the Air in his Room, he open'd the Windows and Doors, and suffer'd the Wind to blow through, which made no Alteration in the electric State of the Room tho' the whole Air must have been changed; That he had even try'd the same abroad in the open Air on a windy Day, and found the Electricity remain'd long after the Operation, tho' the Air first electrify'd must have all been driven away. This surpris'd me, as it seem'd to indicate that some fix'd Medium subsisted between the Particles of Air, thro' which Medium they might pass as Sand can thro' Water; and that such fix'd Medium was capable of Electrification. I went to see it, but had however my Doubts that there might be some Deception in the Experiment; and tho' at first it seem'd to succeed astonishingly, I afterwards found what I thought might occasion the Deception. As your little Balls, which were us'd to discover the Electricity by their Separation, would be too much disturb'd by the Wind when it blow'd fresh, Mr. Kinnersley had put them into a Phial suspended from the Bottom of the Cork. They were as easily affected there, by any Electricity in the outward Air as if they had not been enclos'd; but I suspect that the Glass receives some Degree of Electricity from the electrify'd Air, and so kept the Balls separated after the electrify'd Air was blown away. I think Mr. Kinnersley was not quite satisfy'd with that Solution of the Phenomenon. I wish you would try it when you have Leisure, and let me know the Result.

An ingenious Gentleman in Boston, who is a Friend of mine, desired me when there last Summer, to recommend a good Instrument-maker to him, to make a Pedestal of a new Construction for his Reflecting Telescope. I accordingly recommended our Friend Nairne; but as it was a new Thing to Mr. Nairne, it might be well for preventing Mistakes, to get some Gentleman accustomed to the Use of Telescopes in Astronomical Observations, to inspect the Execution, and I took the Liberty to mention you, as one who would be good enough to take that Trouble if he requested it. I find he has accordingly, wrote to you, and sent his Telescope. If it may not be too much Trouble, I hope you will oblige him in it, and I shall take it as a Favour to me. I send you enclos'd a second Letter of his. The Charge of Postage that you pay, should be put into his Account. I have no Improvement to propose. The whole is submitted to you.

Please to present my respectful Compliments to Lord Charles Cavendish and Mr. Cavendish when you see them, to whom I am much oblig'd for their Civilities to me when I was in England. Also to Mr. Price, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Rose, and the rest of that happy Company with whom I pass'd so many agreeable Evenings that I shall always think of with Pleasure. My best Regards to Mrs. Canton, and believe me, with sincere Regard, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and most humble Servant

(Signed)

B. FRANKLIN.

To Mr. John Canton, Spital Square, Bishopsgate Street, London.

Here there should be a half-dollar note of the American Congress. [Missing 22 Oct. 1879.]

FRIDAY, Nov. 27, [1767].

DEAR SIR, After the Society was gone, my Lord Moreton said, (when I offer'd him the Paper) that it ought to have been deliver'd before and read to the Society: he however desired me to produce it to the Council. There the Reading of it was oppos'd as not being re-

ferr'd to them by the Society. But this was at last got over by Dr. Moreton's proposing that the giving a Medal to Dr. Priestly should be taken into Consideration, and that in order to judge the better of the Propriety of the Proposal, the Paper should be read. It was accordingly read. I was then desired, as the best Judge present, to give my Opinion of the Merit of the Experiments as to the Medal; which I did in plain Terms, declaring it as my Judgment that the great Pains and Expence the Doctor had been at in making them, and the Importance of the Experiments themselves, well desir'd that Encouragement from the Society: and that it was a Mark of Distinction justly due to so much philosophical Industry and Sagacity, &c. One that sat near me told me he was surpris'd at the Acct. I had given as he had been assur'd the Medal was intended to be bestow'd on the Doctor only for writing a History, which was thought wrong; but it now appear'd he had made many valuable new Experiments; &c. Then a Question arose how far it was proper to give a Medal for Experiments that had not been sent to the Society till they were published; and this occasioned a Search for Sir Godfrey Copley's Will which could not be found; but an Agreement was found recorded between the Society and his Executors, that the 5£ should be given for the best Experiment within the Year, proposed and directed to be made by the Society, and made in their Presence:—This not having been the Practice of late Years, it began to be whisper'd that most of the Medals had been irregularly given and that no more could be so given. A subsequent Resolution was however found, to print the Clause of Sir Godfrey's Will in every number of the Transactions for the Encouragement of Foreigners to endeavour obtaining the Reward, as there was reason to fear a Failure of Experiments on the former Plan.

By this Time it grew late, and it was concluded that the Books should be searched, to find all the Steps that had been taken in disposing of this Prize whether in Money or in Medals from the Instance in 1717 to the last; with Reasons and Grounds on which the Council had proceeded; and that a Copy of that Part of Sir Godfrey's Will should be obtained from the Commons; when at the next Council the Matter might be re-considered, and the Medal then given to Dr. Priestly if the Council thought fit, and it should be found not contrary to the Will so to do. Thus the Business ended for that time; and how it will conclude at last seems an Uncertainty; for I think some Persons are busy in an Opposition to the Measure. But I hope it will end in favour of Merit, in which case I think our Friend cannot miss it. I am, Dear Sir, Your obedt. Servant,

(Signed) B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.—I return the Dr.'s Letter. I imagine his Difficulty has arisen partly from his Supposition that the Electric Matter goes in a Ball with a Projective Force, which I think is not the Case but that it is a Constant Stream from the Inside to the Outside; of the Bottle thro' the best Conductors and in such Direction as it can best pass, and in which Path strait or crooked it actually begins to pass as soon as the Conducting Wire begins to approach in order to make the Discharge, which would be done silently or with only a hissing Noise if the Conducting Wire were kept a little farther off than the striking Distance.

AUGT. 15. —71—

DEAR SIR, I have just received the enclos'd from Dr. Priestly, And as it contains an Acct. of a new Discovery of his, which is very curious, and, if it holds, will open a new Field of Knowledge, I send it to you immediately. Please communicate it to Dr. Price when he returns. I am just about taking a Trip for a few Weeks to Ireland. I hope I shall find you well at my Return. I am, with great Esteem, Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed)

B. FRANKLIN.

To Mr. Canton, at the Academy, Spital Square, Bps. Gate Street.

Mr. Franklin's Compliments to Mr. Canton, and acquaints him that Business prevents his having the Pleasure of Visiting Mr. Canton this Afternoon as intended.—Mr. Collinson too is out of Town who was to have accompanied Mr. F.—and will do so some Day next Week.

CRAVEN STREET, Aug. 25, 1769.

DEAR SIR, When I was at Paris about 10 Days since, I was told that a Comet was then visible with a Tail of considerable Length. If it has not been yet observed or heard of here, perhaps this little Notice may be agreeable to you. I return'd but last Night, I hope you and yours are well, being very sincerely Your affectionate Friend and Servant

(Signed) B. FRANKLIN.

I think it was said to be in some Part of the Bull, and in its Progress towards the Sun. M. Monnier discover'd and observ'd it.

Dr. Franklin's Compliments to Mr. Canton, and begs a little of his Preparation for the Electric Cushion.—If it would not be too much trouble, Dr. F. would be glad of his Company at Tea this Afternoon, when Mr. Canton might show him the manner of applying it, and they could afterwards go together to the Club.

Thursday morning—

DEAR SIR, What passed at the Society last Thursday night, was chiefly, a Motion for our Address to the King, which was agreed to, and a Committee appointed to make a Draft. The Society adjourn'd to Monday night, to hear the Address and agree upon it, which was also done. On Thursday next at the Meeting we are to be inform'd when it is to be presented. I hope I shall have the Pleasure of seeing you there at that time; and am Sir, Your most obedient Servant

(Signed) B. FRANKLIN.

Wednesday, Nov. 12:

P. S. I doubt I shall not be ready with the Paper, but have other Reasons for desiring you not to be absent.

Mr. Franklin's Compliments to Mr. Canton, and requests he would procure for him two more of the long Glass Tubes such as he formerly did him the favour to procure for him.

Tuesday—

Mr. Franklin's Compliments to Mr. Canton, and is sorry to find that he cannot have the Pleasure of waiting on him this Evening, being oblig'd to attend a Committee at the Society of Arts;—but as he expects to see Mr. Canton on Thursday at the Royal Society; some other Evening convenient to Mr. Canton may be agreed on.

Monday morn'g. Nov. 24.

Correspondence.

THE BRITISH CAPTURE OF HAVANA.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following summary of the only successful attack ever made on Havana since it was first fortified against the French and English pirates in 1665, may be of interest at the present time. The facts have been taken partly from the Life of Lord Albemarle, grandson of an early royal Governor of Virginia, but chiefly from the 'History of the Late War in North America,' printed at London in 1772, by Thomas Mante, an engineer officer present at the siege.

Soon after the declaration of war in 1762, Lord Albemarle sailed from England with but four sail of the line and four regiments on transports, but his concentration was so skillfully made that he was able, without the previous knowledge of the Spaniards, to appear off Havana on the 6th of June, with

nine ships of the line (afterwards considerably reinforced from Jamaica), a number of frigates, several hundred transports, and a land force of about 14,000 men, including 2,000 American provincials, who proved to be among the most efficient of his troops.

The Spanish Governor, Prado, at this stage, probably misled respecting the strength of his opponents, committed the irrevocable mistake of withdrawing a superior naval force into the harbor, which was closed by a boom and three sunken vessels. The error was fatal, because if he had attacked the arriving English at once, even if he failed to defeat and disperse them, any well-fought action must have inflicted such injuries on both ships and crews as to break up the force and defeat the expedition, while by shutting his own fleet up in the harbor he risked everything on the successful defence of the town, since its surrender inevitably involved the loss of all vessels in the harbor. The British landing was effected expeditiously and without loss, in face of superior naval and equal land forces, by a feint on the west side of the entrance, and a real landing five miles east of it.

Regular siege operations were commenced against the "Moro," and pushed from the site now occupied by the Cabañas, which had not then been constructed. The Moro, being well covered on the land side by the crown of the glacis, was breached with difficulty. Siege materials were scanty, and the ditch, which was too large and deep to be filled, was mined and blown up with both scarpers, the assault delivered through a very narrow breach, and the fort carried by storm after forty-four days of open trenches. The loss of life was large on both sides, and included Velasco, the Spanish commandant, whose family was ennobled by the title of Viscount Moró for his gallant defence, and a standing order made that ever after there should be a ship in the Spanish Navy called by his name. Its guns were then turned against the town and minor defences, which capitulated sixty-seven days after the British landing. The loss by death in the attacking force was 2,764 of all ranks. The capitulation included ten Spanish ships of the line, six having been destroyed during the siege.

Havana was at that time the place of arms and the naval and commercial centre for all the Spanish colonies in both Americas. It possessed dock-yards where the largest ships of the line were built and fitted, and the Crown property in merchandise there accumulated and captured was transported to and sold in London for an amount exceeding £700,000 sterling. The essential difference between then and now is the present existence of the Cabañas fortress, which is generally regarded as the strongest feature of the present defence. It is, however, probable that no military man would now recommend a direct attack on Havana from the sea, in order to accomplish what can be so much more easily gained by simpler and less expensive strategic methods. Nevertheless, as the history of this ancient struggle is an interesting part of the problem, it may be interesting to some of your readers.—Yours respectfully,

PHILADELPHIA, March 19, 1898.

AMERICA AS SHE IS REPRESENTED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You have frequently had occasion to

animadvert upon the notorious incompetence and ignorance of our diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, which have contributed so much to make us a laughing-stock among the nations. To all who are in any way familiar with the facts, your statements have needed no reinforcement. If you required support, however, it is at hand from an unexpected quarter.

The Supreme Court of the United States has lately, in one of its opinions, embalmed and preserved for the admiration of future ages a choice specimen of American diplomatic literature. In the case of United States vs. Eaton, decided February 28 last, and reported in *Supreme Court Reporter*, Vol. 18, page 374, it is stated that in 1892 one Sempronius H. Boyd, appointed in 1890, was Minister Resident and Consul General of the United States to the Court of Siam, at a salary of five thousand dollars a year. On June 21, 1892, Sempronius addressed to the Government to which he was accredited the following letter:

"U.S. LEGATION AND CONSULATE GENERAL,
BANGKOK, June 21, 1892.

"Krom Luang Devawongsee Varopokan, Minister for Foreign Affairs—Monsieur le Ministre: It is with exceeding regret to me to be forced to abandon my diplomatic and consular duties at the court of his majesty, with the enjoyment, pleasure, comfort, and genuine friendship so marked and distinguished, which the representative of the United States fully appreciated and imparted to his government.

"All the physicians advise me to go soon to a cold climate. The president has wired me to that effect. In 20 or 30 days I may be strong enough for a sea voyage, of which I will avail myself. I am authorized to designate L. A. Eaton vice consul-general until I am able to assume. If not incompatible with public affairs, I beg you to so regard him.

"Monsieur le Ministre, I am too weak and feeble to call in person, which I would so much like to have done, and expressed my thanks and that of my government to the foreign office and attachés.

"With assurance of my high consideration, I have the honor to be, Monsieur le Ministre,
Your obedient servant."

No doubt Sempronius was a great man in his ward, and a very valiant patriot; or, if he was one of those editors whom Mr. Harrison so plentifully rewarded with diplomatic appointments, beyond peradventure he amply atoned, by the size and vigor of his headlines, for any syntactical or grammatical peculiarities in mere reading matter. Moreover, we can "lick" Siam at any time, so why should we not address her in any jargon that suits Sempronius?

HOWARD LESLIE SMITH.

CHICAGO, March 17, 1898.

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Is there anything significant in the statement of the proprietor of a morphine cure, on page 48 of *Printer's Ink* for March 16, that his best advertising results are from newspapers—names given—notorious in the domain of yellow and Jingo journalism?

A READER.

MARCH 17, 1898.

Notes.

R. H. Russell, who has just removed his publishing-house to No. 3 West Twenty-ninth Street, announces a spring list which includes 'Two Prisoners,' by Thomas Nelson

Page, illustrated by E. W. Kemble; 'The Nightingale,' by Hans Christian Andersen, illustrated by M. J. Newill; 'Poems,' by Robert Burns Wilson, illustrated from nature by C. Grant La Farge; 'Shapes and Shadows,' poems by Madison Cawein; and 'The Pinero Birthday-book,' with quotations from Arthur Pinero's plays.

'The Handbook of Sole Whist,' by A. S. Wilkes, will be published directly by Brennano's.

Dodd, Mead & Co. will issue 'The Bookman's Literary Year-book,' an illustrated guide to American and English literature during 1897.

The 'Annual Literary Index' for 1897 (office of the *Publishers' Weekly*) is, as usual, a worthy supplement to the indispensable 'Poole's Index.' The list of bibliographies, the necrology, and the index to dates of principal events of the year are very convenient. In one particular it is open to objection. Why should the references to periodicals and the references to books be in two separate alphabets? They are used by the same people at the same time for the same purpose. If I want to find some article on Women, why should I be obliged to look on p. 142 and again on p. 158? I want to know all that is to be had, whether it be in the *Forum* or in Miss Repplier's 'Vivia.' When I have found three articles on Matthew Arnold on pp. 6 and 7, why should I be obliged to turn over to p. 148 to see if there is not something else there? And, worse than all, why should I be exposed to the danger of missing the best reference of all by forgetting to look in both places? We suspect some obstacle in the collaboration, but it may be typographical. There is more apparent reason for separating the bibliographies.

The "Temple Edition" of Scott's Novels will, by its very name, suggest to all who are acquainted with Dent's publications the handy pocket form, the limp cover, the excellent print and generally dainty finish of the productions of this London house (New York: Scribners). The transparent cover-guard tells the story succinctly: "This edition . . . is printed verbatim from the author's favorite edition, with all the notes, etc., . . . on a thin paper with large type, and contains 40 topographical frontispieces by Herbert Railton in photogravure, and 8 portraits, . . . bound in lambskin." The pretty illustrations are overweighted by the heavy arabesque border, and a similar border (here as in the Temple Editions generally) on the title-page detracts from the tastefulness elsewhere exhibited. But these are the only defects in most companionable volumes. The editor is Clement K. Shorter, Clement Shorter, or C. K. S., as he variously signs the brief introductions. Thus far we have received 'Rob Roy,' 'The Antiquary,' 'Old Mortality,' 'Guy Mannering,' and 'Heart of Midlothian,' in two volumes each, and 'The Black Dwarf.'

We can heartily commend 'The Poetry of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,' the latest volume in the capital "Muses' Library" (London: Lawrence & Bullen; New York: Scribners). Dr. Garnett's Introduction is alone worth the price of the book, and his selection (*i. e.*, exclusion) is beyond reproach, much as remains that is fine in parts of what is omitted, to say nothing of the dramas, which would have occupied too much room. In other words, this anthology is not sacrificed to the "familiar quotation." The notes are

chronological and illustrative. Dr. Garnett's point of view in discussing Coleridge's genius is to regard him "as the incarnate transition, so to speak, from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century," and as "the greatest of English critics," whose verdict, "evinced by the surest of tests, his own practice, has been given in favor of the poetry of the nineteenth as compared with that of the eighteenth century." We can hardly agree that were eleven enumerated poems "removed from his works, he would lose all title to be esteemed a great poet," because we cannot, for example, name a poet so great that the "Ode to Tranquillity," for one, if ascribed to him, would seem beneath him. But we will not quarrel with Dr. Garnett's dictum that "any one of his [Coleridge's] best poems would suffice for the immortality of any poet."

To Henry Holt & Co's series of "English Readings for Students," Prof. Lewis E. Gates of Harvard has contributed a volume of 'Selections from the Prose Writings of Matthew Arnold.' A good deal of the beauty of Arnold's essays and treatises lies in their structure and proportion, and this makes the selection of extracts a particularly difficult task. Mr. Gates has accomplished it as well as 294 pages of a 16mo volume will allow. The rest of the volume is devoted to a preface, an introductory essay, and a commentary. The essay is admirable—hardly inferior to Arnold himself, save in its derivatory character. Neither has Mr. Gates failed to appreciate the great extra-literary significance of his subject. Many will find the essay morally helpful as well as critically illuminating. One might quote it almost anywhere with an assurance of felicity. The notes are full of excellent illustrations, and show the art of a true commentator; thoroughly terse, seeking less to engage than to avoid unprofitably detaining the reader's attention, yet conveying a deal of helpful information.

'Bibliography of Education,' by Will S. Monroe (vol. 52 of Appleton's International Education Series), contains the titles of a goodly number of works in the English language on the various branches of educational science and history and on subjects more or less closely related to education. But the list is neither sufficiently complete nor compiled with all the care necessary to make it quite trustworthy for reference. The trouble with such works is that they are likely to mislead those very readers most in need of bibliographical aid. If each section of the book had been submitted to a competent specialist, with a view to desirable omissions as well as additions, its present utility (which is not denied) would have been greatly enhanced.

No one who ever read Ambrose Bierce's 'Tales of Soldiers and Civilians,' published originally under this title in San Francisco in 1891, and now reissued, with a few additions, by G. P. Putnam's Sons (as it has meanwhile been in London and Leipzig) under the major title of 'In the Midst of Life'—no one, we say, could forget the impression of these grimly powerful vignettes chiefly of our civil war. Tolstoi himself might praise the psychology of dying in "One of the Missing" or in "The Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge"; and what an allegory is "Chickamauga," with the strayed child, wooden sword in hand, leading the crawling troop of hideously wounded men to the blazing ruins of his own home and the mangled

body of his own mother! This little volume could not have been revived at a more opportune moment, and deserves the widest circulation as a peace tract of the first order, in the present craze for bloodshed. Mr. Bierce's imagination, his poetic feeling, his humor (which can be sardonic on occasion) have long been known to be above the ordinary. They are here fitly and truthfully applied in the depiction of organized human slaughter.

In default of a full record of the general orders issued by Washington during the Revolution, a part is welcome. Under the editorship of Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin, the orders issued in May and June, 1778, are printed from Major Shaw's MS. in the Boston Athenæum. The record opens with the well-intentioned effort of Congress to induce men to enlist or serve for the war by an offer of half-pay for seven years; and, a few days later, persons in the army "who understand making thin paper, such as bank-notes are struck upon," are in demand—a somewhat suggestive juxtaposition in the light of after events. Considering the evil times and the distresses of the army, the proportion of courts-martial is not excessive, and discipline was well preserved by the punishment of a few. Some of the precautions against sickness are peculiar, such as the burning of the powder of a musket cartridge daily in each hut to purify the air, or "a little tar, if it can be procured." One feature is deserving of notice—the frequent disagreement of Washington with the decisions of military trials. An officer who took two mares and a barrel of tools on the lines and sold them for his own profit was acquitted by the court; but Washington interfered, with a severe reprimand, being "far from satisfied of the propriety of Lieut. McDonald's conduct." In another case an officer is condemned by the court to dismissal for taking a pair of mittens, for gaming, and for abusive language. Washington sets aside the mittens, but comments on the "pernicious practice of gaming, which will invariably meet with every mark of his disapprobation." In two cases men are sentenced to receive four hundred lashes each, a very severe punishment, and one little calculated to prevent a repetition of the crimes—desertion, reënlisting, and perjury. Such a record as this is invaluable to the historian of the Revolution.

'A Godchild of Washington,' by Katherine Schuyler Baxter (Neely), is a pretentious volume, containing nearly everything that could be gathered in a disorderly way to foster family pride and an unreasoning magnifying of ancestry. Its purport is not very clear, for it rambles from a sketch of Alexander Pope to the Erie Canal, and is illustrated in a wonderful manner. After reading its 650 pages, well padded out, even by extracts from "the shelves of old books," we are at a loss to account for its existence. The only redeeming feature is that it is "published by subscription for private circulation only."

A small edition of a 'Reconnaissance of the Gold Fields of Southern Alaska' and of 'Geology of the Yukon Gold District' has just been issued by the United States Geological Survey at Washington, and is distributable only upon special recommendation; but three-fourths of the 40,000 copies of the Map of Alaska, showing gold-bearing rocks, with descriptive text, are for distribution through Senators and Representatives. The

Superintendent of Public Documents (Government Printing-Office) has just put forth Catalogue No. 37 of United States Public Documents, with a partial reference list of United States Government publications on Alaska, filling fourteen pages.

In 'Les Demoiselles Danaïdes,' by Roger Dombre (Paris: Colin & Cie.), Parisian life is prettily described. The little tale has an engaging lightness and gayety suitable to the locality. It is the common subject of sudden smiting by Cupid, subsequent misunderstanding, and the ending, "So they married and lived happy ever after." Young people who read it will find graceful colloquial French of the best sort in its pages, and a simple story besides.

Charles de Rouvre's 'Princesse Esseline' (Colin) hardly seems a book for the young; it is more for elder people who might have patience to read the long analyses of parental affection and the descriptions of travel and scenery. There is a true poetic feeling in the delineation of the young Esseline's life—petted and indulged, yet sweet, loving, and unspoiled; but it is a poetry, we fancy, which will not appeal much to youth. The action is placid and agreeable, but sadly lacks vivacity.

'Die Frau im Altertum: Ein Kulturgeschichtliches Bild,' by Karl Heinrich Schauble, M.D. (Karlsruhe: Braun), is a brochure of ninety-three pages, containing the substance of two lectures originally delivered before the Deutscher Verein für Kunst und Wissenschaft in London, and treating of the position of woman in Egypt, Greece, Rome, Palestine, Asia Minor, India, ancient Germany, and Gaul. The writer maintains that the rights of woman were practically more nearly equal to those of man in Egypt than in any other country of antiquity. In the introduction he discusses the influence of the different ancient religions in this respect, and gives in the ninth and concluding chapter an historical survey of the marriage relation, showing the degrading effects of polygamy and the elevating effects of monogamy as enjoined by Christianity and enforced by the example of the primitive Germans, whose esteem for woman, verging toward veneration, took a quixotic and romantic form in mediæval knight-errantry. The conclusion at which Dr. Schauble arrives is that the condition of woman is the truest test of a people's civilization, and that the present movement in favor of her higher education indicates a higher stage of general culture.

The last issue of Prof. Karl Hilty's 'Politisches Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft,' just published by K. J. Wyss in Berne, is a volume of 790 pages, beginning with an article by the editor entitled "De Senectute," and embodying some suitable and sympathetic reflections on old age. "Vor 50 Jahren" is a picture of political events half a century ago, as reflected in the letters of prominent Swiss statesmen, with an introduction by Prof. Dr. Blösch. "Das Tagebuch des Schweizerischen Abgesandten Hirzel bei seiner Sendung in das Hauptquartier der Allierten, Nov., 1813," by Prof. Dr. Oechsli, is a diary of value for the period immediately following the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig. "Frauenstimmrecht" is a succinct survey of the female suffrage movement in Switzerland by the editor, who also contributes "Jahresbericht 1897," which fills about one-half of the volume and forms unquestionably the most interesting part of

it. It is a carefully prepared report of the principal occurrences of the past year in Switzerland, including foreign and domestic affairs, legislative enactments, administrative measures, political parties, social questions, as well as art and literature, together with the text of political programmes, treaties, proposed laws, and other documents valuable to the historian.

In the current issue of the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, nothing suggests comment more than the pictorial frontispiece in connection with Prof. de Sumichrast's account of the production, under his direction, of Racine's "Athalie" at the Sanders Theatre in December last. For the first time in the history of the college, a play was given in which the female parts were not borne by male students. To effect this innovation, Radcliffe College was drawn upon, and some Boston ladies were also invited to a share in the performance. The incident advertises the fact that co-education in all but the narrowest sense is firmly established at Harvard, side by side with the survival, in the Hasty Pudding theatre, of the old classical and mediæval-monastic idea at once of the stage and of education.

Of all the tributes to the memory of Daudet published since his death, the sincerest and most tender, perhaps, is that by the aged Friedrich Spielhagen, in *Cosmopolis* for February. "Was mir Alphonse Daudet ist" are the words which he puts at the head of his brief *in memoriam* to the younger French writer, whom he never met, with whom he never exchanged letters, who never read a line of his, but whom he loved as a friend, and whose poetic views and aspirations he shared, though there is this difference between them (he modestly and generously admits in his closing sentence): "Was er wollte, das konnte er . . . durchführen. Ich werde mich wol mit dem *magna voluisse* begnügen müssen."

Admirers of "Caran d'Ache" will find an account of this humorist in the *International Studio* for March (John Lane), with many illustrations not caricatures, of a striking kind. There is, as usual with this handsome magazine, much else to repay perusal.

Antarctic exploration was the subject before a special meeting of the Royal Society held in the last week of February. The discussion was opened by Dr. John Murray of the *Challenger* expedition, who stated the main objects of research for an expedition so equipped as to be able to spend one or more winters in Antarctica. These were, especially, observations of the atmosphere and the condition and distribution of the sea-ice in the winter months; the investigation of the interior ice-cap, for light upon the glacial-period theory; and the fauna. Among other speakers, Sir Joseph Hooker, one of the few survivors of the Ross expedition more than half a century ago, said that "he looked to a comparison of the oceanic life of the Arctic and Antarctic regions as the heralding of an epoch in the history of biology." Dr. Neumayer, director of the Hamburg Observatory, spoke of the absolute necessity of obtaining data from the Antarctic in order to form a physical theory of terrestrial magnetism. The advantages to geology of an exploration were presented by Sir Archibald Geikie, who referred to the region as probably one of the most interesting volcanic tracts on the face of the globe, of which we could hardly be said to know more than its mere existence. Dr. Nansen believed that

it might be difficult to get upon the inland ice, but not at all impossible, and added that if an expedition went from Great Britain, he was sure that Norway would be willing to send out an expedition for coöperation upon the land.

Some time in April the first Handelshochschule in Germany will be opened at Leipzig, as the result of the energetic efforts of the German Association for Commercial Instruction. The Saxon Government has, of course, sanctioned the enterprise and also promised a very small sum towards its financial support. The new institution is intended more especially for those who expect to occupy leading positions in commercial and industrial life, in the consular service, as members of chambers of commerce, etc. The conditions for admission therefore provide that candidates shall have completed a course in some secondary school, or give other evidence of suitable preparation. Foreigners can be admitted on similar terms. A seminary for commercial teachers will be formed in connection with the institution. Arrangements will also be made for the admission of members of the Hochschule to certain lectures in the University of Leipzig. With a view to such an agreement, the Ministry suggests that the senate of the Hochschule endeavor at the start to forestall the dangers to the new class of students arising from certain unfavorable peculiarities of academic life "which, though indulged in to excess only by a minority of students, are, nevertheless, on account of their publicity, regarded as *general academic institutions*." The Minister also deems the question of vacations in the new school worthy of careful consideration, lest the customary proportion of twenty-two weeks of vacation to thirty weeks of study should awaken scruples in the minds of the business class.

—A paper by Prof. Newcomb on "Recent Astronomical Progress," in the *Forum* for March, calls for particular notice on account of its general interest. An important part of the paper is devoted to the discussion of the question of life in other planets than our own. This is a subject that is perennially interesting to all mankind. Men of science know that this question is still very far indeed from solution. The present inquiry of science is, Are the planets habitable—do they present the conditions of habitability?—and not, Are the planets, or any of them, in fact, inhabited? Even this latter question has not been definitively solved for a single planet except our own. The much larger question, whether life actually exists in any planet but our own, is not yet within the field of scientific inquiry, notwithstanding its paramount interest. Prof. Newcomb points out that the hope of finding some indication of intelligent life on the planets has excited public curiosity ever since the telescope was first invented, and he remarks that our experience has proved that no increase of telescopic power is likely to carry us much further than we are now. Telescopes may, in the future, be vastly improved, but the obstacles to better vision appear to be insuperable. They lie, not in the imperfections of the telescope, but in the disturbing effects of the unquiet air that surrounds the earth. So long as astronomers must work within the atmosphere, so long the unsteadiness of the air will prevent the use of very high magnifiers. It is, of course, possible that new instruments may be invented, based on new prin-

ciples, and that, by their use, we may attain the desired knowledge. But there is no present reason to hope for such inventions.

—These matters are familiar to astronomers. But the general public is not so well informed. So many fanciful stories have been printed describing the particularities of life on Mars, for example, that general readers have come to admit some kind of life there, and to consider that the only matters open for discussion concern these particularities. Every one comprehends that there can be no human life on the moon. It is not so generally understood that the conditions on Mars are remarkably like to those on the moon. As Prof. Newcomb remarks: "Mars has little or no atmosphere"; "there are few or no clouds on Mars"; it is "by no means certain" that the polar "ice-caps" are ice at all. They "may be due to some other substance—solid carbonic acid, for example. Indeed, it would seem hardly possible that the sun's rays would suffice to melt more than a few inches of ice or snow on the poles of Mars. The whiteness [of the polar-caps] may, however, be produced by a layer no thicker than hoar-frost." What follows from these conditions on our sister planet? If there are no clouds, there can be no water, for water or snow would evaporate to form a layer of clouds. Hence, there can be no "seas," no "lakes," no "canals," with water in them. Channels, cracks in the soil, there may be, of course. It is certain from other considerations that the so-called "canals," which are simply dark, narrow streaks, cannot be water. At the Lick Observatory these dark "canals" have been found all over the planet, in its so-called "seas" as well as on its "land." A "canal" running through an "ocean" is, of course, an absurdity. What is seen is merely a darker, narrow streak lying on a less dark region. The explanation is yet to seek. A summary of our present knowledge like this paper of Prof. Newcomb's is of especial value. It not only describes the actual advances that have been made (and they are many), but it frankly details the points yet unsettled. His remarks on life in the planets, and especially in the planet Mars, are commended to popular writers on astronomical matters.

—Readers of the *Nation* will remember the mission of Metlakatla in British Columbia conducted by the Rev. William Duncan, which was described in a little book by Mr. H. B. Wellcombe reviewed in the *Nation* some years since. Its trials from religious narrowness, and the final exodus of the great majority of the Indians from their homes on the Canadian side of the line, and their settlement on Annette Island, Alaska, under the leadership of their devoted teacher, are familiar to all interested in missions. After a year or two of uncertainty, Congress reserved the island for their use and the use of those Alaskan natives who might be led to join the colony. Secure in their faith that a permanent refuge was provided for them, the colony set at work to build homes, schools, and churches, as well as to establish industries by which they could maintain themselves in comfort. Mr. Duncan, a few personal friends, and a few of the Indians who had some means of their own, put into the machinery of a salmon cannery their capital, amounting to some \$40,000, and have made of their industry a great success. The Mission brand of salmon brings several cents a can more than any

other Alaskan brand, and the returns have been sufficient to pay good wages to the workers and a fair dividend on the capital advanced. By the use of ordinary prudence, the colony promises to continue self-sustaining if left undisturbed.

—An attempt has been recently made to bring ruin upon them and disgrace upon the legislators who assured them of protection. On the plea that mineral deposits exist on the island, a bill has been introduced into Congress to deprive them of nine-tenths of the island, cutting off their fishery privileges, their access to water for the town supply, the use of the timber, and that isolation from vicious whites which is essential to the well-being of the settlement. It says nothing of compensation for the loss of vested rights and the breach of faith involved. It means merely the destruction of almost the last independent cannery by the Alaska Salmon Trust; the invasion of the colony by liquor and vice; the ruin of the most successful mission ever known on the Northwest coast; and the loss of the last remnant of belief in the honor and good faith of the whites by the natives of the region. And all this that a handful of speculators may exploit some alleged quartz veins of unknown and very doubtful value. It is satisfactory to know that the Secretary of the Interior has denounced the scheme, and that Mr. Duncan's friends have rallied to his support; nevertheless, the ultimate issue is doubtful unless the voices of those who desire to maintain the rights of the weak against organized greed make themselves heard with no uncertain tone.

—Interest in the Pre-Shaksperian drama is decidedly on the increase. We have already spoken of the plan of a series of representative English comedies under the general editorship of Prof. Gayley, which will include some twelve or fourteen plays from this period. A volume of plays in the same period, edited by Prof. Brandl of Berlin, to contain mostly reprints of plays now generally inaccessible, is announced to appear presently. Mr. A. W. Pollard's 'English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes' is passing to a new and revised edition. And now Prof. J. M. Manly of Brown University has edited two volumes of 'Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperian Drama' for the Athenæum Press series (Boston: Ginn & Co.). The selections given in Prof. Manly's volumes seem excellently chosen for the purpose of illustrating in typical specimens the growth of the English drama from its beginnings down to Shakspeare. In Part I. is presented, in some fourteen pageants, a sufficiently representative composite cycle of mystery plays, from the Creation to the Judgment Day. The eight plays comprised in Parts II. and III. will come as a novelty to most readers, while their historical interest and importance will be apparent at once. In Part IV., among other Moralities, we are given the hitherto unpublished "Mankind," from the Gurney MS. Volume II. presents eight pieces, from "Roister Doister" to "The Spanish Tragedie," more easily accessible and more commonly known. The texts here given are important, however, as presenting carefully edited literatim reprints of the original editions. The two volumes bear evidence of a very large amount of scholarly labor on the editor's part. A third volume, to contain Notes and Glossary, as well as an Introduction which will present a new treat-

ment of the History of the Pre-Shaksperian Drama, is to follow presently. We shall hope to speak more fully of the work when that volume appears.

—It is necessary to warn the reader whose interest in Donne is directed to his fascinating personality and to his alternately fascinating and repellent poetry, that he will not find his account in the long-expected 'Life of Donne' (London: Methuen & Co.), by Dr. Jessopp. Mr. Gosse has, after all, no share in the work, which is strictly a book written to order for the "Leaders of Religion" series. If this be borne in mind, the author's attitude, which is that of a theologian of the Church of England type (read, for example, the discussion of the condition of English theology in the seventeenth century, pp. 53 ff.), becomes perfectly explicable, and one even ceases to resent the too parochial atmosphere of the book, which, however, it must be said, even within its own limits, is far from being adequate or up to Donne's own height. This is borne home to the reader all the more by the inevitable, if inevitably unfair, comparison which immediately suggests itself with Walton's pious and beautiful 'Life of Donne.' Dr. Jessopp, however, deserves our gratitude for his laborious research, of which the volume bears ample evidence, into the obscurer passages in the life of Donne both in correction of Walton and in addition to other previous knowledge. This gratitude, nevertheless, is somewhat tempered by the author's failure in most cases to indicate the sources of his information, and to make fuller and more adequate use of Donne's interesting and to-day generally inaccessible correspondence. Donne's life, rightly read, would provide all the materials for a subtle and moving psychological novel. In criticism it is a subject made to the hands of a Saint-Beuve, but no Sainte-Beuve has as yet attempted it.

—In Mr. Arthur H. Norway's 'Highways and Byways in Devon and Cornwall' (Macmillan), a curious story is told of a visit that the author paid to an old Cornishwoman, to whom he happened to mention the approaching marriage of a relative of his named Margaretta. This she at once pronounced to be a lucky name, and begged Mr. Norway most earnestly to let the bridegroom know how to reap the full advantage of the luck. He must, it seems, pluck a daisy on the eve of the marriage, draw it three times through the wedding-ring, and repeat each time, very slowly, the words: "Saint Margaretta or her nobs." Some time afterwards it flashed into the author's mind that this mystic sentence was nothing more than a corrupt form of "Sancta Margaretta, ora pro nobis"—a bit of Middle Age devotion which had held its own in Cornwall until now. "A somewhat similar fragment of antiquity," Mr. Norway goes on to say, "lingers in the neighborhood of Redruth, where the country people, when they see a ghost, say: 'Numny dunny,'" and he adds: "I leave the riddle to be solved by any one who is curious enough to undertake a useful piece of practice in unravelling the corruption of language." The task that Mr. Norway proposes is certainly not a very difficult one. "Numny dunny" is obviously a corruption of "In nomine Domini"—a shortened form of the invocation used in blessing one's self with the sign of the cross.

—M. Émile Berr has transferred his useful "Petite Chronique des Lettres" from the *Figaro* to the *Revue Bleue*, where it occupies the greater part of the space usually devoted to the "Mouvement Littéraire." In the issue of February 19 M. Berr gives the results of an interesting inquiry that he has been making among the publishers as to the effect upon their business of the Dreyfus affair. The publishers are far from happy. The *affaire* has greatly disturbed the book trade and upset their calculations for this spring. Since the middle of January the sale of books at retail at Flammarion's has lowered by at least 25 per cent. Zola's pamphlets have aggravated this dulness: every time that one has appeared, the falling off in the regular trade has increased from a quarter to a third. As to new books, they simply have to wait. "The newspapers take up the whole of the readers' time." At Charpentier's the same story is told. Pamphlets accumulate. M. Fasquelle is absent, occupied every day at the *Cour d'Assises*, and his collaborators groan in inaction. "The first book that we shall publish is precisely a novel of Clémenceau's—his first novel, 'Les Plus Forts'; but who cares for a novel of Clémenceau's when everybody is waiting to hear his plea at the trial?" At Calmann's, M. Émile Berr was told that they have in hand more new books than they know what to do with, and must wait until the present glut is relieved before they go on printing. At Ollendorff's, masses of printed paper are heaping up, and no one dares to launch a volume. "Here is a novel by M. Pierre de Coulevain, 'Noblesse Américaine,' and a volume by M. Edmond Fazy, 'Les Turcs d'Aujourd'hui,' which is destined to make some stir. M. Fazy is a professor who lived for a long while at Constantinople and saw the people of whom he writes at close range; his book is severe, very severe, and very amusing. Unhappily, just at this moment, no amusing book holds the public, and nothing counts outside of what concerns 'l'affaire.'" So M. Berr finds all his interlocutors of the same mind: to wit, that the season for the booksellers is nearly spoiled. The winter draws to its end, and this is just the one instant of the year in which the French, who are not generally wide or swift readers, find time to read a little. Later—when settled fine weather comes—sports, the bicycle, and travel will absorb the leisure of everybody, and reading, together with the book trade, will go into retreat for six months.

THIRTY YEARS OF AMERICAN FINANCE.

Thirty Years of American Finance: A Short Financial History of the Government and People of the United States since the Civil War, 1865-1896. By Alexander Dana Noyes. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Pp. 277.

We have other books which cover the same period of time as this and much more. We have none that go into the minutiae of this particular period in the way that Mr. Noyes does. We have no other that brings together all the commercial facts which are necessary to explain and illuminate the course of our checkered financial history as this does. Nor has Mr. Noyes limited himself altogether to commercial and financial matters. He points out their effects on political parties and events, and the reactions of politics on commerce and finance. It is needless

to say that this is an inviting field for a competent writer. Some peculiar gifts are required for its due treatment—a grasp of abstract economics, ability to handle statistics and not to be overthrown by them, practical acquaintance with the business world, and ability to express one's thoughts in language plain to the non-technical reader. That Mr. Noyes possesses these qualifications is known to those who have made his acquaintance in the pages of the *Political Science Quarterly*, where he began his treatment of this subject. The volume before us is not a reprint of those articles, or of any of them, but a fresh examination of the whole matter.

The period under consideration begins where the war ends. The country had an interest-bearing debt of about \$2,400,000,000, and a non-interest-bearing debt of \$400,000,000, the latter consisting of legal-tender notes. The first important event was Secretary McCulloch's recommendation that the legal-tender notes be retired and cancelled, which was agreed to by the House (December 18, 1865) by a vote of 144 to 6, and confirmed in a modified form by both branches of Congress in April, 1866. The next event of importance was the repeal of this act (February, 1868), and the third was the re-issue (September, 1873) of \$26,000,000 of the notes that had been actually retired—the last step having been taken by Secretary Richardson without the authority of law. Next came President Grant's veto of the inflation bill, followed, as a desperate political necessity, by the specie-resumption act. The only accessible fact wanting in Mr. Noyes's recital is a letter of the late Hamilton Fish to the late George W. Childs, describing in some detail the struggle in Gen. Grant's Cabinet and in Gen. Grant's own mind over the question whether the bill should be approved or vetoed. According to this letter, which was published soon after Mr. Fish's death, the President was convinced of the badness of the measure while trying to compose a message to Congress to accompany his approval of it. The story current at the time, that he had two messages in his desk, both of his own sole production, one approving and the other disapproving it, was true, but it was true also that his determination to send the latter to Congress was not due to hap-hazard, but to deliberate and reasoned choice.

Necessarily much space is given to Secretary Sherman's public life, and to the steps taken by him in carrying the resumption act into effect. High praise is awarded to him, and none too much, for this executive act, while his weathercock behavior in the Senate and on the stump, both discreditable and dangerous at times, is not overlooked or condoned. Mr. Sherman's letter virtually endorsing the wild and demagogical project of paying the bonds in greenbacks might have been appropriately introduced here. It adds something to the credit of the Hayes Administration, but none to that of Mr. Sherman himself, that the silver agitation, and the Matthews resolution, and the Bland-Allison bill came athwart the execution of the resumption act, but did not prevent or even delay it. Mr. Sherman wrote a letter expressing the opinion that silver dollars would be an aid to resumption. It would have been well to introduce the text of this letter also. President Hayes did not agree with his Secretary. He vetoed the Bland bill.

Resumption having been effected at the appointed time (January 1, 1879), the question whether it could be maintained without further sales of bonds was a vital one. Here came to our aid one of those "streaks of luck" that have so often helped the American republic over a rough bit of road. During two successive years (1880 and 1881), we had enormous wheat crops which happened to correspond with enormous deficiencies abroad. The critical period was bridged for us by importations of \$175,000,000 gold, due to commercial causes solely, in those years. Mr. Noyes goes into this subject fully. He deals also with the concurrent expansion of domestic trade, railroad building, land speculation, and eventual collapse in 1884. This is one of the most exciting periods in our financial history, and it deserves the ample space given to it. The harvests both here and abroad during all the subsequent years receive most careful attention at Mr. Noyes's hands. The fact is recognized that they lie at the bottom of everything of a commercial character, and that they have a preponderant influence on finance and a large influence on politics as well.

The passage of the silver-coinage act of 1878 and its consequences are traced with clearness and accuracy, and the reasons why the bad consequences were so long in showing themselves are pointed out. These were of more than one kind. There was a large surplus revenue which could be disposed of only by redeeming outstanding bonds or buying them at a premium. If redeemed at maturity, they were, in part, taken from the national banks which had deposited them as security for their circulation. If bought in the open market, the banks were tempted by the high premium which the Government's purchases caused, to sell them. The 4's of 1907 eventually sold as high as 129. In either case the circulation of the banks must be retired in a corresponding ratio, and thus a vacuum was created for the new silver currency. Moreover, the Treasury Department, during Mr. Cleveland's first term, found means to withdraw from circulation the legal-tender notes of smaller denomination than five dollars, thus making a vacuum for silver certificates. As the silver coinage was at the rate of only \$25,000,000 per year or thereabout, these two operations, coupled with a real demand for currency due to the country's growth, served as an antidote to the poison for the time being. But these favorable conditions were coming to an end, as they must have done some time, when suddenly three acts of Congress were passed almost simultaneously which brought things to a climax. These were the McKinley tariff "to reduce revenue," the new pension bill, and the so-called Sherman silver act. The bill to reduce revenue exceeded the expectations of its promoters. They estimated a reduction of about \$42,000,000, but the first year after the law went into effect the reduction was \$52,000,000 and two years later it was a round \$100,000,000. Public expenditures, on the other hand, rose by leaps and bounds, \$79,000,000 being added the first year and \$35,000,000 more the following year. The Harrison Administration, which had recommended liberality in appropriations, became alarmed, and tried to put on the brakes, but could not do so. Simultaneously with this disaster came another and greater one. The Windom plan of settling the silver question, out of which the Sherman act was evolved, is analyzed

with merciless severity by Mr. Noyes, and President Harrison's naïve concurrence with it does not escape censure. The history of the Sherman act is given in detail, for the first time, we believe. It makes very interesting reading in connection with the tariff bill of the same year. The plight in which Mr. Sherman himself is left floundering deserves a quotation:

"When Secretary Sherman was defending, in 1879 and 1880, his own plan of legal-tender issues, he was reminded of the possibility that a heavy revenue deficit might some time leave the Treasury with nothing but its gold reserve from which to meet expenses. To this he answered that it was 'not to be presumed that Congress will omit to provide ample revenues.' He cited further the objection that the amount of notes 'may be enlarged by Congress, and that this power is liable to abuse,' but his reply was that under resumption of specie payments 'there is no temptation to over issue.' Fourteen years had passed, and Congress now had suddenly enacted one law destined to force a deficit in the Treasury and another to increase without assignable limit the issues of legal-tender notes. That Mr. Sherman himself should have voted for both these measures and constructed one of them, is another notable instance of the irony of history."

The expulsion of gold from the country after the passage of the Sherman act is the next event of importance. That this would be the inevitable sequence of the forced injection of new legal-tender notes into the circulation was foreseen by the commercial world. The needs of business were already satisfied. If more notes were introduced, the operation would be like pouring water into a cup already full. In fact, more gold ran out than notes poured in. Foreigners saw what was coming, and began to withdraw their capital. This movement was accelerated by the Baring panic in England. We exported \$70,000,000 of gold during the first six months of 1891. Here occurred again one of the freaks of fortune which have so often masked our financial blunders and postponed our punishment for them. Both Russia and France had disastrous failures of their wheat crops in 1891, while we had the most enormous harvest in our history either before or since. Europe's shortage was 150,000,000 bushels, and our excess over the previous year was 250,000,000 bushels. The result was that we soon began to import gold, and took back \$50,000,000 of the \$70,000,000 that we had exported earlier in the same year. This streak of luck, however, could not last always. When the wheat account was settled with Europe, the tide began to move against us once more. The outflow of gold during the first six months of 1892 was \$41,000,000. The Government's gold reserve fell to \$114,000,000 in May of that year. The deficit produced by the legislation of 1890, already referred to, was now running heavily against the Treasury. Everybody could see that we were nearing the danger point. The Government's receipts began to drop, and its gold payments were soon to increase by the presentation of legal-tender notes for redemption. This was not exactly a new phenomenon, but it came upon the business world as new when, on the 30th of June, 1892, \$3,200,000 of legal tenders were presented for redemption in gold because it was needed for export and could not be obtained elsewhere. No wonder that the Secretary of the Treasury made a despondent report in December, 1892, and confessed that a heavy deficit was impending. The deficit came, but it was not to plague him or the Harrison Administra-

tion. They went out of office just in time to escape the consequences of their own bad financiering, consisting, as we have said, of the bill "to reduce revenue," alias the McKinley tariff, the various bills to increase expenditures, and the Sherman silver bill—three furies, whose wrath was discharged on the head of the Cleveland Administration, through no fault of its own.

We have made this brief synopsis of Mr. Noyes's chapter vii. by way of indicating the thoroughness of his work. No fact of importance is omitted, nor is the sense of proportion lost in the treatment of the events. They lead up to the panic of 1893 and the repeal of the Sherman act at the special session of Congress in 1893. When Mr. Carlisle, the new Secretary of the Treasury, came into office, the gold in the Treasury, over and above the greenback-redemption fund, was less than one million dollars, and the money of all kinds was less than \$25,000,000, with a monthly deficit rolling up. Here were all the materials for a panic, which, in Mr. Noyes's opinion, would have come during the previous autumn but for the "streak of luck" arising from the peculiar harvest conditions of 1892 here and in Europe. The trouble in 1893 was, perhaps, hastened a little by Mr. Carlisle's hesitation in reference to his legal power to redeem the Sherman notes of 1890 out of the \$100,000,000 greenback-redemption fund. Some little time was lost by hesitating to have recourse to a sale of bonds—the first increase of the Government's interest-bearing debt that had been made since the civil war. The case was one requiring prompt action, yet no blame, we think, can be justly imputed to the Administration for the delay. The validity of the law authorizing the issue of bonds under the circumstances was disputed. Although Secretary Foster had given an order in writing to the Bureau of Engraving and Printing on the 20th of February, 1893, to prepare plates for a bond issue, he managed, by borrowing gold temporarily from the banks, to stave off the evil day till his own term of office had expired. (As the existence of that order has been denied, it would have been well to print it.) The question was a fresh one when the new Secretary came in, and, humanly speaking, it was not to be decided offhand, nor till events forced a decision. When the time came, only one decision was possible: it was bond sale or bankruptcy. The panic of 1893 is carefully analyzed by Mr. Noyes. He also recounts with sufficient detail the struggle over the repeal of the Sherman act, and the subsequent staggering of the business world in its efforts to regain its feet after the shock. The reasons why the recovery was not more rapid receive due attention.

After the repeal of the Sherman act, Congress lapsed into sullen imbecility. Its attitude with regard to the issuing of bonds to avert national bankruptcy and to pay the salaries of its own members was that if the Secretary of the Treasury could find any authority of law to do so, then Congress would not absolutely revoke such authority. It would restrict itself to growls, grimaces, and open threats tending to frighten lenders and to spoil his market. The result was that the first and second loans were virtually extorted from the banks under a species of terrorism. Really the banks had no choice. They were told to take those bonds, or the Government would go down and they would be buried in the ruins. So they took \$50,000,000 of 4 per cent. bonds on the 1st of

February, 1894, and paid \$58,660,000 gold therefor. But some of the subscribers, to prepare themselves to meet their subscriptions, withdrew gold from the Treasury to the amount of \$24,000,000 by the presentation of legal-tender notes for redemption. Mr. Noyes condemns this transaction, without sufficient reason, we think:

"The bond subscribers," he says, "had consented to a contract under which they received a full consideration, while they knew the tacit consideration in the Government's behalf to be the adding of \$53,000,000 to the actual gold reserve. The use of coin obtained on note redemption was therefore an undoubted subterfuge. Its justification, if it can be justified at all, lies in the fact that the New York banks were reluctant and unwilling subscribers," etc. (p. 215).

Mr. Noyes does not show that the Government was injured by the withdrawal of this gold by the banks, but rather leaves it to be inferred that such was the fact. We cannot assent to that proposition. The Government had a certain amount of demand liabilities outstanding, and it could make no possible difference whether those liabilities were lessened by handing them over to the Government or by providing it with the means of paying them. It may be said (and this is apparently Mr. Noyes's opinion) that if the Government had been able to show \$130,000,000 gold in the Treasury after the loan was completed, instead of \$106,000,000 gold and \$24,000,000 greenbacks, the public imagination would have been more agreeably affected by the glamour of the metal, and the inclination to draw gold would have been lessened. This is a matter of conjecture. What the public will do or think in any given circumstances is always a matter of some doubt, but it has been pretty well established in the treatment of money panics that if the debtor bank or other financial institution keeps cool, maintains a bold front, and invites all creditors to exercise their legal rights, the chances of a run are very much lessened. On the other hand, if it shows signs of alarm, if it puts impediments in the way of its creditors obtaining their dues, if it blacklists them for demanding what they are entitled to, it thereby multiplies the fears of the community and intensifies instead of allaying the run. This is what the Government officials did during the whole series of big and little panics down to the last bond issue. They ought to have proclaimed by the loudest speaking-trumpet at their command that the greenbacks were just as good as gold, instead of which they said, as plainly as possible, that gold was preferable to greenbacks. A financial institution which exists by the forbearance of its creditors is already bankrupt. It may be "tided over," it is most desirable that it should be, especially if it is the Federal Treasury; but the principles which apply to an ordinary bank of issue apply to it, and one of these is that the more it "squeals" when asked to redeem its paper, the more copiously will such paper be presented for redemption. In the worst view that can be taken of the banks that drew this gold, it was a case of what the lawyers call *damnum absque injuria*, an injury to which no legal blame attaches. This Mr. Noyes himself concedes. The question whether it was morally wrong, although legally blameless and actually harmless (or at all events not proved to be harmful), we need not discuss.

The bond syndicate operation of February.

1895, receives adequate treatment at Mr. Noyes's hands. That part which relates the undertaking of the syndicate to protect the Treasury as far as possible against gold withdrawals by themselves supplying the purchasers of foreign exchange, is extremely interesting, but we have not left ourselves space to go into details. It is not mentioned, as we think it should have been, that this loan was made under an act of Congress passed in 1862 and still in force, although forgotten—a different one from that under which the two previous loans had been negotiated. The last loan, that of February, 1896, and the events subsequent to it until the present time, form the conclusion of the book. Mr. Noyes has grouped together in moderate compass, with good taste and sound judgment, the facts and deductions which are necessary to an intelligent discussion of the most important problem now before the people—one which will probably continue uppermost for some years to come. The book has a copious index.

"BOBS."

Forty-one Years in India, from Subaltern to Commander-in-Chief. By Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar. In two volumes. Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

"Always barrin' me little frind Bobs Bahadur, I know as much about the Army as most men." So said Private Terence Mulvaney to Mr. Rudyard Kipling before he proceeded to narrate the startling story of "The Taking of Lungtungpen." And he went on to draw a very disrespectful comparison between the present commander-in-chief of the British army and the favorite general of the British soldier in India. The crowds in the London streets during the Diamond Jubilee procession, which cheered Lord Roberts more heartily than any of the other actors in that splendid pageant, simply expressed the sentiments held by the vast majority of the English people as well as of the army. Lord Wolseley has never been a popular hero, and the reason, perhaps, is partly to be found, not in the greater splendor of the military exploits of Lord Roberts, but in the fact that his rival is a little apt to talk too much about himself. Private Mulvaney says as much in the comparison between the two generals just alluded to, and Rudyard Kipling echoes the prevailing sentiment when he puts into the mouth of Tommy Atkins, in one of his "Barack Room Ballads" entitled "Bobs," the following words of praise:

"An' 'e does not advertise,
Do yer, Bobs?"

Were it not for such testimony as this, and for the conspicuous modesty which Lord Roberts, better known to thousands as "Little Bobs," shows in writing of his own exploits, one might be tempted to say that he has advertised himself on a large scale in the two handsome volumes of reminiscences, whose title we give above. His career has been a most interesting one. Arriving in India as a subaltern, just in time to learn his business in the old East India Company's Bengal artillery before the Indian Mutiny broke out, he has seen grow up before his eyes the new India of the Queen-Empress, ruled under different conditions and defended by a different army. The siege of Delhi, Sir Colin Campbell's campaign in Oudh, and the operations which led to the final rout

of the insurgent Sepoys, afforded excellent schooling for a young officer, and Frederick Roberts came out of the fiery trial, not only with the Victoria Cross "for valour," but with a reputation for coolness and administrative ability in important staff situations. From that time onwards, Roberts held various staff appointments, and he was generally envied by all the officers of the line as "the luckiest man in India." But no one ever ventured to say that Roberts did not deserve his luck, and it was generally held that if another great military crisis should arise in India, he would be one of the fittest men to cope with it. Not merely was he during these years a diligent, headquarters staff-officer, doing conscientiously the desk-work that falls to such a position, but he was given occasional opportunities to show his merit in the field, as in the Umbeyla campaign of 1863, the Abyssinian expedition of 1867, and the Lushai war of 1871. In 1875, after having officiated more than once in that capacity, Col. Frederick Roberts, though an officer of only twenty years' standing, was appointed Quartermaster-General to the forces in India, an unexampled promotion for so young an officer. In 1878, he was moved to the command of the Punjab Frontier Force, and in that year he had his first chance to show his capacity as a commander of troops. The history of the Afghan war of 1878-80 is largely the history of the exploits of Roberts, and his military fame as a general rests to-day upon his achievements in the Afghan war. In each of its phases he was the most conspicuous actor. He it was who forced the Kurram Pass, and advanced on Kabul after fighting the most successful action of the campaign in 1878; he it was who, after the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, led the army of retribution to the Afghan capital, and in the camp of Sherpur withstood the winter attack of the fanatic Afghan hordes, and met them more successfully than Elphinstone had done in 1841; and he it was who, upon the news of the terrible British defeat at Maiwand, marched safely from Kabul to Kandahar; rescued the beleaguered city, and wiped out the disgrace of Maiwand by his utter defeat of the army of Ayub Khan.

The fame of Roberts was safely established by these feats of arms, and his later career in India was one of high command. From 1880 to 1885 he was commander-in-chief in the Madras Presidency, and from 1885 to 1893 commander-in-chief in India, and the gratitude of the British Government was shown by his being created a peer of the realm for his excellent services in the latter most responsible position. It was Lord Roberts who organized the present defensive position upon the northwest frontier of India, a position which, indeed, in the light of recent events, does not seem to be as effective as he hoped; but he will be more gratefully remembered by all who served under him for his persistent efforts to raise the character and to increase the comforts of the British soldier in India. This it is which has made him the idol of the English soldiers, even more than the recollection of his campaigns in Afghanistan.

The sketch just given of the salient points in the career of Lord Roberts indicates the nature of his reminiscences. Naturally the largest part of the first volume is taken up with a record of the events of the Indian Mutiny; and of the second volume, by an

account of the Afghan War. It may be said at once that the description of the Mutiny is disappointing, for Lord Roberts, instead of confining himself to his personal reminiscences, has attempted, mainly from the well-known 'Chaplain's Narrative' of Mr. Rotton, to rewrite the story of the siege and capture of Delhi. He has not done this particularly well, for he does not possess the training of an historian, and shows himself unable in places to deal with the opposing evidence that confronts him. His account of the siege, indeed, is far inferior to that given by Colonel Malletson in his 'History of the Indian Mutiny,' which itself now needs to be revised in many particulars from the volume of documents edited in 1893 by Mr. G. W. Forrest and published by the Government of India. Far better and more valuable, as a primary authority upon the subject, is the account Lord Roberts has given of his Afghan campaigns. The anxieties of the commander-in-chief during the terrible weeks of siege in the Sherpur cantonments, and during the daring march from Kabul to Kandahar, are vividly depicted, and Lord Roberts certainly does not deserve the censure so justly meted out to the Duke of Wellington of not fully recognizing the services of his subordinates. It might have been wished, indeed, that he would have dealt a little more at length with his disagreement with General Dunham Massy, but it is, perhaps, too much to expect that such a personal question as this should be definitively settled during the lifetime of the principal actors. It may be worth while noting, however, that there are distinguished soldiers who warmly support General Massy's cause and think that he was hardly dealt with—a view which, of course, does not find expression in Lord Roberts's remarks upon the subject. A few words, too, on the asserted misconduct of certain troops on the occasion of the death of Lieutenant Montanaro would not have been out of place, the more especially since Mr. Kipling has set the example of abandoning the practice of ignoring instances of British military misconduct, both in prose (as in the story of "The Drums of the Fore and Aft") and in verse (in "That Day").

No one can rise from a perusal of these interesting volumes without a fuller knowledge of the new India of the Queen-Empress and of one of its chief creators. Singularly prophetic—and at the same time cleverly inclusive of a hint at one of the weak spots in the character of the general, and of an allusion to his well-known dislike of cats, which, as Sir Charles Macgregor relates, nearly spoilt the dignity of a ceremonious interview between General Roberts and the Ameer Abdur Rahman—are the following lines from Mr. Kipling's parody of Browning, entitled "One Viceroy Resigns." Lord Dufferin is made to say to Lord Lansdowne in 1888:

"Look to one—
I work with him—the smallest of them all,
White-haired, red-faced, who sat the plunging
horse
Out in the garden. He's your right-hand man,
And dreams of tilting W-is-y from the throne;
But while he dreams gives work we cannot buy;
He has his Reputation—wants the Lords
By way of Frontier Roads. Meantime, I think,
He values very much the hand that falls
Upon his shoulder at the Council table—
Hates cats and knows his business: which is
yours."

A History of French Literature. By Edward Dowden. D. Appleton & Co. 1897.

In this volume of the series entitled "Literatures of the World," Prof. Dowden seeks

to present a complete critical survey of his subject from the Middle Ages to the end of the Romantic period; and if in some cases the facts and opinions put forward appear to have received rather summary treatment, the cause lies less in the dispatch of Prof. Dowden's method than in the compression forced on the material by the limits of a popular manual. Of this the most obvious signs are in such pages as 258, 259, 305, etc., which are little more than catalogues slightly expanded with descriptive phrases. Although important matter rarely suffers, one cannot but notice an occasional insufficiency in the judgments expressed. Why, for instance, is Diderot characterized as "the least French of eighteenth-century French authors" (p. 307) without adequate explanation of the grounds of the proposition? Again, 'Le Dernier Jour d'un Condamné' is briefly styled "a prose study in the pathology of passion." To most readers Hugo's pamphlet gives the impression of an *ad captandum* plea against capital punishment. Also, the innuendo in the following sentence might well have been spared: "When the Prussian assault was intended to the city, when Regnault gave away his life as a soldier, Gautier in the muses' bower sat pondering his epithets and filing his phrases." "Le pauvre Théo" in 1871 was all but sixty years of age, as well as broken in health; and, if we may trust Maxime Du Camp's biography, "La guerre, la révolution du 4 Septembre, l'investissement de Paris, la Commune l'assommèrent. Il mit deux ans à en mourir, mais il en mourut."

Prof. Dowden's literary competence is so well known that we need hardly insist on the generous breadth and accuracy with which he judges all the great movements and famous names of French literature. Naturally, as he himself acknowledges, his indebtedness to other critics is large; but in all cases calling for personal examination of text or authority, the reader feels that every deliverance of the critic has been fully verified. No better summary of the seventeenth century, with its admirable running commentary on "Literary Freedom and Literary Order," could be put into a student's hands. As might have been expected, Prof. Dowden takes the traditional English view of the "oratorical" character of much of the poetry produced in "le grand siècle." The discussion is so trite, and further so hopeless, that one shrinks from again reminding English readers that what strikes them as rhetorical in French poetry often produces no such effect on those for whom French is a mother-tongue. Of equal merit and interest are the examinations of the respective philosophical positions of Montaigne, Descartes, and Pascal, although the critic seems to have studiously avoided applying the term "mystic" to the religious belief of the last named. As regards other great French writers it is curious to observe how rigorously the defects of Voltaire's character are once again shown up, in contrast with the comparative leniency meted out to the many failings and shortcomings of Rousseau.

But where Prof. Dowden seems most thoroughly at home on congenial ground is in the discussion of the Romantic movement of 1830. Each division of this is an admirably fair summary of the work accomplished by a great poetical leader of the time, and an estimate of what still endures for posterity. We should, however, have liked to find in a succeeding passage a little more em-

phatic insistence on the colossal proportions of Balzac's achievement, as well as on the influence which his startlingly vivid realism has exercised on the strictly *Parisian* fiction of the later school.

Being warned in the preface that the dates in this book may at times show a discrepancy in comparison with those given in other authorities, we need not dwell on the few unimportant disagreements we may have noted; but Prof. Dowden will surely not deem it hypercriticism if we submit that "M. Barine," whom he quotes in connection with Bernardin de St. Pierre (p. 327), is quite as frequently spoken of in France as "*Madame Arvède Barine*"—the well-known pseudonym of a "woman" of letters. Perhaps the only omission of any consequence among writers of lesser importance is that of Barbey d'Aurévilly. It is truly gratifying to think that students of French literature can now at last study that vast field under the guidance of an English authority, the general soundness of whose opinions is rendered doubly attractive by the uniform excellence of the style in which they are presented.

Modern Mythology. By Andrew Lang. Longmans. 1897.

The Evolution of the Idea of God. By Grant Allen. Henry Holt & Co. 1897.

Of these two books, Mr. Andrew Lang's is the important one. In a desultory manner, for which he convincingly apologizes, Mr. Lang has here performed a considerable service. "Finally" is a word not to be rashly used, least of all in the storm-swept regions of modern mythology; and yet there is a note of finality attaching to Mr. Lang's courteous and restrained arguments directed against Prof. Max Müller's notorious view—that mythology is a "disease of language"—and the theory of "universal human degradation" implied in the acceptance of that *mot d'ordre*.

"We hold," says Mr. Lang, speaking as an acknowledged leader of the "anthropological" school, "that man thought all things animated and expressed his belief in gender-terminations. Mr. Max Müller holds that because man used gender-terminations, therefore he thought all things animated, and so became mythopoeist."

Though it would be interesting to follow Mr. Lang in detail through the fourteen chapters of his guerilla war, the task is too desultory for a review. It is enough here to mark the singularly chastened mood which animates him throughout. "It is with no enthusiasm," he writes, "that I take the opportunity of Mr. Max Müller's reply to me 'by name,' in 'Contributions to the Science of Mythology.' Mr. Lang, in this, his last encounter with his once too formidable antagonist, is sobered by the knowledge that his victory is fairly won, and shows himself a dangerous foe. Everywhere he pays his court to the "Right Hon." Professor's "vast erudition" and "enviable style," and exhibits a rare gift for appreciating, and appropriating to his own opposing argument, the many flashes of real insight by which, until lately, Mr. Müller's now ruinous fabric of theory has been so ingeniously propped. Furthermore, Mr. Lang is most candid in admitting the errors and indiscretions of his own school. His sixth chapter is a development of a self-accusing admission: "I well know that I myself am apt to press a theory of totems too

far." His fourth makes good, among other things, the admission that "a tendency to seek for exclusively vegetable origins of gods is to be observed in some of the most recent speculations." Here he had Mr. Frazer, and doubtless also Mr. Farnell, in mind. All scholars will do well to heed his recommendation of great reserve in their "hypotheses of origins."

Mr. Lang's criticism, also offered in his Introduction, "of the prevalent anthropological theory of the ghost-origin of religion," which might, he urges, "be advanced with caution . . . till we know a little more about ghosts, and a great deal more about psychology," applies prophetically to Mr. Grant Allen's 'Evolution of the Idea of God,' a book effectually discredited by the absence of specific references and by Mr. Lang—shortly after the publication of 'Modern Mythology'—in the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1897. Mr. Allen here comes very near to being one of those "sweet anthropological enthusiasts" whose "excesses," according to Mr. Lang, have given so many opportunities to Mr. Müller's attack upon the new school. Unfortunately, Mr. Allen, though excessive, is not sweet, and in his own opinion he should not be classed off-hand as of the anthropologists. He is dogmatic and irresponsible, in both his manner and his matter. He possesses the "key to all mysteries," a very large key of modern material, but antiquated pattern; so he does not resist temptation to belabor nervous inquirers with it. Meanwhile, he forgets to open the door.

Christian Missions and Social Progress. Vol. I. By Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Co.

In this work we have a sincere attempt, made by a scholar, a man of culture, and an observer during many years of life in a Mohammedan country, to treat the subject of missions from the view-point of science. The dogmatic or merely propagandist argument is scarcely mentioned, but the sociological facts are canvassed with great breadth and thoroughness. The excellent bibliographies show the scope of the author's inquiries and observations, and his ability to select from them and assimilate what is to the purpose is manifest. The bulk of this first volume is devoted to the social evils of the non-Christian world. If there be any "conflict" between "science" and either "religion" or "dogmatic theology," it is not visible to the author. Organized Christianity is here shown to be the relentless enemy of dirt, drunkenness, idleness, gambling, slavery, cannibalism, witchcraft, and to be the reformer of evils, the bringer in of a better time, and the promoter of nobler living for the individual and of prosperity to the nation. With both acuteness and learning, and a marvelous wealth of information digested from whole libraries, Dr. Dennis pictures these social evils with a clearness and fascination that must delight the earnest student of reality, whatever may be his religious opinions.

These chapters have been delivered as lectures in several of the schools in which young men receive the theological part of their training as missionaries. The matter has, however, been wholly recast, and reference to the points made is easy because of the excellent analytical table of contents. In

his opening chapter on the sociological scope of Christian missions, the author claims for sociology that it is an inclusive and comprehensive science, and that in its constructive aspects it is predominantly ethical. In his eyes Christianity is a militant social force, because a majestic power of social transformation is inherent in Christ's teachings. Yet he would not supplant the evangelical spirit and aim of missions, but rather broaden and deepen their power by the sociological method.

In the second lecture we have a vivid picture of the social evils of the various civilizations of the world. The existence of serious defects in Christendom is not denied, nor is the good in the ethnic religions ignored; but civilization as a whole, whether Christian or non-Christian, is tested by its active antagonism to moral evils. So far as it is possible, the author would pass judgment in the case of each nation on ethical principles only. Such evils as self-torture, the degradation of women, the traffic in human flesh, witchcraft, massacre, lack of business confidence, the scandalous lives of religious leaders—to select but one evil out of each group treated—show that as long as such immoralities are nourished by a system of religion, that religion must be supplanted by something better that is antagonistic to these evils. The enlightened sense of mankind is against them and in favor of their abolition.

In lecture iii. the author considers ineffectual remedies and the causes of their failure. He is unable to discover any sure guarantee of social reform in education, material civilization, state legislation, patriotism, or the social power of ethnic religion, when these are employed singly. The authorities which he cites in confirmation of his views are formidable. To him Christianity is the social hope of the nations. Having a different estimate of man, it introduces new moral forces. Among the first and greatest of civilizing agencies are Christian missions. In a final chapter, Dr. Dennis considers the objections of those who distrust historic Christianity as a social power. In his mind there has never yet been an adequate expression of the truth inherent in the Christian faith. He believes that universal mastery is the final heritage of Christ and his religion.

Several score of illustrations reproduced from photographs, and exhibiting phases of the various non-Christian religions and the educational and philanthropic work of Christian missionaries in many parts of the world, form a pleasing commentary upon Dr. Dennis's text. The fairness and thoroughness of the author, together with his ability and originality of treatment, will win for his book attention from many who have only vague or hostile notions about a work that increasingly claims the attention of the nations which are in the forefront of civilization.

Emerson, and Other Essays. By John Jay Chapman. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898.

The personal equation is evident throughout Mr. Chapman's work. He is a pronounced individualist, and is possessed by a spirit of hatred and contempt for the tyranny of our democratic masses, their suppression of all wholesome variations from the conventional type; and his attraction to Emerson, Whitman, and Browning is determined by their sympathy with his revolt.

They are his stalking-horses from behind which he shoots his invectives at the pachydermatous creatures whom he particularly abominates, and some of them are sharp enough to pierce the thickest hide. The essay upon Stevenson, which concludes the book, has the same inspiration as its principal companions, but the subject illustrates Mr. Chapman's central theme by way of opposition and contrast; Stevenson being shaken as a bundle of imitations, both in the style and in the substance of his various books. But Mr. Chapman's prophetic zeal does not prevent his criticism from being remarkably interesting and often valuable. It is certainly fresher than it would have seemed possible to make it where so much had been already written. It is one of his ideas that the first thing necessary is to attract a man's attention, and if you can do this only by knocking him down, why, then, knock him down; and it must be confessed that there is here much knocking down, if not of people, of their conventional opinions. At times this business seems overdone, and it is necessary frequently to remind ourselves that it is a means to an ulterior end, deliberately chosen.

The essays are of unequal value and uneven workmanship; the "Emerson," which is much longer than any others, being in every respect the most important. It takes for its text Emerson's most sweeping indictment of the masses, and comes round to this at the end: "If a soul be taken and crushed by democracy till it utter a cry, that cry will be Emerson." But between the beginning and the end there is much that is only loosely related to the main contention, and may win a cordial assent where that fails to do so. There is much that is interesting concerning the methods of Emerson's intellectual activity and the forms into which it ran. His coherency is found to have been greatest in his earliest writings. "They were written for a purpose and were perhaps struck off all at once." His biographer, Mr. Cabot, has told us that this was the case with the Divinity School address, but that address was represented as unique in this respect. Emerson was not a writer, we are told, but a speaker, and Lowell's judgment is repeated—that his manner of speaking, with its hesitations and apparent naturalness, was deliberate art. Lowell is quoted at length, but not even Lowell has described the manner of Emerson's speaking so well as Alcott in a most memorable passage. "English Traits" is denominated by Mr. Chapman as "the rudest book he ever wrote." It is a capital illustration of Emerson's patriotism, which manifested itself in an exclusive interest in those English qualities which America does not possess. Like Dr. Arnold, his devotion to an institution was in proportion to his desire to improve it. The weakness of Emerson's system of aesthetics is much insisted on, but not too much. His new commandment was, "Thou shalt not preach"; but he admired "the antique sculpture" because it was "as ethical as Marcus Aurelius." On the other hand, Mr. Chapman's judgment of Emerson as having no conception of growth, of evolution, is not well made up. His poetic anticipation of Spencer and Darwin was, in fact, remarkable. Tyn-dall could go to him for such mottoes as that which Emerson prefixed to "Nature," and we read in "The Problem":

"These temples grew as grows the grass."

When Mr. Chapman comes to speak of Emerson's relation to the abolitionists, we are reminded that our essayist's name unites two names of great distinction in the abolition movement, namely, those of the Jays, William and John, and Maria Weston Chapman, Garrison's inspiring friend; and this conjunction of names betrays his lineage. Appreciative of the abolitionists, he does not disguise Emerson's distrust of them in the earlier stages of the agitation. "It was the defection of Daniel Webster that completed the conversion of Emerson, and turned him from an adherent into a propagandist of abolition." But he always wore his abolitionism with an individual difference from the regular stripe, and his formal identification with the movement was never quite complete. It is certainly a gross exaggeration to say that Emerson was "in no way responsible" for the Transcendental movement; and in the minimizing of its practical outcome, Parker, and Higginson, and Johnson, and Weiss, and Samuel Longfellow, and James Freeman Clarke, and many others of their kind seem to be entirely forgotten. The narrowness of Emerson's sensuous range is more aptly criticised, and especially the frigidity of his doctrine of love and marriage: "There is in Emerson's theory of the relation between the senses neither good sense, nor manly feeling, nor sound psychology." But, whatever the deductions, Mr. Chapman's general review of Emerson abounds in cordial admiration for the social courage he exhibits and inspires.

Of Whitman it is said that, "as for his real merits and his true mission, too much can hardly be said in his favor"; but his seamy side is exposed in a manner that will be very shocking to his worshippers. In all that concerns human relations, he is set down as utterly unreal, and, while no one talked so much about America, no one knew it less. "A Study of Romeo" sounds an unusual note, and one that deserves attention. Even here Mr. Chapman is still harping on "our formal manners; our bloodless complexions, our perpetual decorum and self-suppression." The translations of Michael Angelo's sonnets do not impress us as better than Symonds's upon the whole, though doubtless they reproduce more closely the ruggedness of the originals. The translation of the fourth Canto of Dante's "Inferno" is a more notable achievement. It is in *terza rima*, and yet, with one glaring exception, very literal, contrary to the prevailing notion that Dante's own rhyme-system cannot be successfully reproduced in English verse. The criticism of Browning is sympathetic, on the ground that Browning finds himself everywhere at war with our conventional morality. As for Stevenson, it is well that his readers generally cannot discover those perpetual reminiscences of plot and style which deduct so much from Mr. Chapman's enjoyment of his work.

Cent Ans d'Histoire Intérieure, 1789-1895. Par André Lebon. Paris: Armand, Collin & Cie. 1898.

Modern France, 1789-1895. By André Lebon. [The Story of the Nations.] G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898.

In estimating the volume on 'Modern France,' which appears in the "Story of the Nations" series, we have the advantage of being able to follow M. Lebon's own text side by side with the translation. If we

omit three chapters on literature and the arts, the substance of the book as published in Paris is identical with that of the London and New York version. Once or twice a sentence seems to have been added or subtracted, but we have ample material for judging whether, on the whole, M. Lebon has been fairly interpreted to his English readers. We regret to say that while most of the text has been reproduced in comprehensible form, solecisms, uncouth turns of phrase, and actual errors abound. What sort of an impression is produced by the term "Committee of Public Salvation," those only can tell who have in the course of their reading encountered its Gallic equivalent, "le Comité de Salut Public." This remarkable title of a famous board is even dignified by a headline to face a full-page portrait of Robespierre. The river Main is given "Mein," although the English tongue has in this case kept the original German form instead of following French usage. "Bonaparte chercha à se donner de l'air en terre ferme" becomes "Bonaparte had perforce to seek an issue in *terra firma*." M. Lebon says that Guizot's vacillation "le laissait désarmé devant les sollicitations les plus suspectes." His translator renders this, "left him unable to refuse the most ambiguous sollicitations." Besides the use of questionable language, we have noticed two cases where dates given correctly in the original have been altered, either by inadvertence or by design; it is hard to tell which. In a word, though we have seen much worse translations than the present one, we find nothing in it to commend.

Coming to the substance, we may observe that the French title, 'Cent Ans d'Histoire Intérieure,' gives a more precise definition of contents than 'Modern France.' M. Lebon fastens his attention so closely on domestic affairs that he permits the foreign relations of his country to remain matter for conjecture. Thus, when describing the part of Napoleon III. in Italian liberation, he does not once mention the name of Cavour. His notice of the Vienna Congress would be very inadequate in a book which professed to cover the whole ground; and if we go back to 1809 it is clear that the battle of Essling, viewed from the standpoint of general European politics, was more than "a fruitless massacre." We could multiply illustrations to show that M. Lebon is tethered to internal politics. While forced every now and then to treat of campaigns, he returns from them at his earliest convenience to Paris and her experiments in constitution building.

The effect produced by a short historical sketch is seldom determined by the bulk of fact which it contains. This is in any case so small, and so much the common property of all writers, that method, ideas, and style become the main considerations. As we are chiefly concerned with M. Lebon's book in its English form, we shall confine our few remarks to his method and general ideas. With respect to the first of these matters it may be said that he claims the merit of extreme simplicity. He limits himself to what has actually happened, and in seeking an explanation pays regard to patent rather than to obscure reasons. To put the matter in another way, he shuns the strategy of parties and follows the main travelled road of political issues. Translated into terms of modern France, this means that he leaves the process of agitation aside and

concentrates on revolutions. In noting the fall of one governmental type after another, he writes its epitaph: "Where a political system has failed, I have tried to show its obvious defects and not its hidden virtues."

An historical student who has also a seat in the Chamber of Deputies is sure to hold and profess fixed views. But M. Lebon's English readers are not his constituents, and all that one gathers of his own convictions is that they are moderately republican. Since the Revolution, the love of liberty has swept France more than once, and at other times the love of glory has proved a magic spell. M. Lebon, though doubtless taking as great an interest in the violent oscillations of his native land as a foreigner might, cannot be expected to accentuate them in vivid colors. He longs for stability, and concludes his preface with the hope that his pages may give an object-lesson of its advantages. "It is not by flying from one excess to another that a great people can achieve freedom and occupy a becoming place in the world." M. Lebon, then, keeps the contest between democracy and the craving for national greatness out of sight, and takes his leading contrast from the relations between civil equality and public liberty. After all that the Revolution and Empire achieved in shaping a code, the most delicate part of the business remained to be wrought. M. Lebon traces the downfall of the bourgeoisie to its constant selfishness under the restored Bourbons and the July monarchy. He impartially condemns the strictly guarded franchise of Louis Philippe and the fatuous use to which the proletariat turned its votes in 1848. The Second Empire, in spite of its ruin and shame, did not destroy equality; and, liberty having been restored by the Third Republic, France is still striving to find a *modus vivendi* for both. Such, stripped of their illustrations, are the salient points which run through this interesting epitome of French history since 1789. To indicate a single unusual feature of the book, we may remark that it handles constitutional subjects with greater care and knowledge than one expects to meet with in a general survey.

We have already criticised certain slips of the anonymous translator. We shall conclude by finding a little fault with M. Lebon himself. Our items against him, however, are not numerous, and some of them might be excused on the ground that limits of space were rigidly fixed by the publishers. His reference to the League of Pilnitz is so brief and bald that it conveys an incorrect idea of what took place. The single statement made, namely, that Leopold and Frederick William there "proclaimed their intention of intervening to restore Louis XVI. to his former rights," is open to stricture. Likewise the scope and methods of the September massacres are badly indicated. The episode is not called by any name, and the sole allusion to it runs in this wise: "On the arrival of the news that Longwy and Verdun were occupied, the populace stormed the prisons and murdered nearly a thousand aristocrats and priests, thus inaugurating the Terror." A few pages further on we are told that the execution of Louis XVI. "ushered in the sanguinary Reign of Terror." Dumouriez's attempt to lead his troops on Paris after the battle of Neerwinden is unnoticed, and the account of Louis Philippe's overthrow is so huddled that it becomes a

trap for the unwary. The inclusion of Herbert Spencer among English Positivists shows that M. Lebon has missed his controversy with Frederick Harrison. This is our budget of complaints—a short one, considering that the author of a popular treatise has to steer his hazardous course between the Scylla of diffuseness and the Charybdis of obscurity.

The Life and Writings of James Clarence

Mangan. By D. J. O'Donoghue. Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes & Co. Pp. xxiv. 250. Portrait and illustrations.

Mr. O'Donoghue has bestowed care and labor upon this book, yet we doubt whether he has brightened the character of Mangan, or is likely to increase the circle of his admirers. He has not materially added to our stock of information concerning the poet. He has brought together a considerable quantity of material, but has not done enough in the way of selection and arrangement. Mangan was undoubtedly the most original of Irish-born poets. His reputation out of Ireland will never rest upon more than a few pieces; and in Ireland he is not likely ever to be so fully appreciated as by those who passed through the feelings and the stress of the Young-Ireland movement. Those who knew him best had, after his decease, "no heart to write" his "personal history." They felt with regard to him the "most certain truth that" he "who will not save himself, all mankind banded together cannot save." "There is hardly anything more profoundly affecting in English literature," writes Alfred M. Williams in his admirable 'Poets and Poetry of Ireland,' "than such a poem as 'The Nameless One' read with a knowledge of the life of which it was a confession." By his "Dark Rosaleen" and his "O Woman of the Piercing Wail" he is likely to be appreciated in Ireland for generations to come. Mr. O'Donoghue has resuscitated a mass of information and anecdote concerning literary life in Dublin through the first half of the century. If London has since those days absorbed too much provincial talent, it has given back much in broadened interests and higher standards.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Arnold, Sarah L., and Gilbert, Charles B. A Reader for Sixth Grades. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co.
 Benson, E. F. The Vintage: A Romance of the Greek War of Independence. Harpers. \$1.25.
 Bierce, Ambrose. In the Midst of Life: Tales of Soldiers and Civilians. Putnams. \$1.25.
 Bill, E. L. The Sword of the Pyramids. F. T. Neely. 50c.
 Bonnefont, Paul. Montaigne et ses Amis. 2 vols. New ed. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.
 Brough, William. Open Mints and Free Banking. Putnams. \$1.25.
 Bussey, Dr. S. O. Pictures of the City of Washington in the Past. Washington: Wm. Ballantyne & Sons; New York: Baker & Taylor. \$2.
 Chaplin, Anna A. Wonder Tales from Wagner. Harpers. \$1.25.
 Clark, Andrew. 'Brief Lives,' chiefly of Contemporaries. Set down by John Aubrey between the years 1669 and 1696. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde.
 Clark, C. H. A Laboratory Manual in Practical Botany. American Book Co. 96c.
 Clarke, R. F. The Science of Law and Lawmaking. Macmillan.
 Clodfelter, N. J. The Gotham of Yasmur: A Satire. Buffalo: Peter Paul Book Co. \$1.
 Compton, A. G. Some Common Errors of Speech. Putnams. 75c.
 Corbett, J. S. Drake and the Tudor Navy. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. \$10.
 Crane, Walter. The Bases of Design. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan. \$6.
 Dana, C. A. Eastern Journeys. Appletons.
 Dickens, Charles. Great Expectations. [Gadsdill Edition.] Scribners. \$1.50.
 Doane, Rev. W. C. The Manifestations of the Risen Jesus. Henry Frowde. 50c.
 Duncan, Sara J. (Mrs. Everard Cotes). A Voyage of Consolation. Appletons. \$1.50.
 Fitz-Hugh, Prof. Thomas. The Philosophy of the Humanities. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Foster, Vere. *The Two Duchesses: Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire; Elizabeth Duchess of Devonshire.* London: Blackie & Son; New York: Scribners. \$6.
 Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, Gen. Prince Karl zu. *Letters on Strategy.* 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; New York: Scribners. \$12.

Holmes, T. R. *A History of the Indian Mutiny.* 5th ed., revised and enlarged. Macmillan. \$3.50.
 Kingshead, Karl. *When Lovely Woman.* G. W. Dillingham Co. 50c.
 Lummis, C. F. *The Awakening of a Nation: Mexico of To-day.* Harpers. \$2.50.

Scott, Sir Walter. *The Heart of Midlothian.* 2 vols. [Temple Edition.] London: Dent; New York: Scribners.
 Wells, H. G. *The War of the Worlds.* Harpers. \$1.50.
 Zangwill, I. *Dreamers of the Ghetto.* Harpers. \$1.50.

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